



Pope Gregory X and the crusades

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***POPE GREGORY X
AND THE CRUSADES***

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE SCHOOL OF HISTORY AT
QUEEN MARY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

**BY
PHILIP BRUCE BALDWIN**

**UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
DR. THOMAS ASBRIDGE**

FOR MY PARENTS

ABSTRACT

This study examines the crusading movement during the reign of Pope Gregory X in the latter part of the thirteenth century, before the Latin presence in the Levant came to an end. It seeks to demonstrate the important position of this little-known pope, who formed the bridge between what can now be seen as two separate eras in the crusading period, namely, the era of the traditional *passagium generale*, and the ‘new’ era of the *passagium particulare*. To do this, it will study Western and Muslim sources to understand the condition of the Holy Land during Gregory’s pontificate to see the effect it had on the manner in which he organised his crusade, using both traditional and ‘new’ methods. By drawing on sources from crusading in Iberia, it will show that Gregory approached the crusade flexibly, and was not, as commonly described by historians, wholly obsessed with the Holy Land. It also seeks to dispel one of the more popular myths surrounding Gregory, which is that he wanted to change the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem by putting Charles of Anjou in charge there. A study of the Angevin chancery records – little used by crusade historians – will demonstrate that it was not Gregory’s idea, but rather Charles’ own. Finally, using Gregory’s papal registers and chronicle evidence, this study will attempt to imagine the crusade that would have occurred had Gregory not died prematurely. This includes a discussion of the unprecedented scope of its recruitment as evidence of Gregory’s exceptional ability as a crusade organiser, as well as the evidence and reasons for a dramatic change in direction away from Egypt.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Focusing so closely on one figure, Pope Gregory X – following his career from his youth in Piacenza, to his election as pope, and to his untimely death in Arezzo, as well as reading his letters – has inevitably given me a strong attachment to a man who lived over 700 years ago. Yet, it has been my very conscious goal not to let any attachment disrupt the scholarly rigour of this study, nor lead me to misguided conclusions. Reading so many of Gregory's letters has given me insight into his mind, but inevitably there is still much that can never be known.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Tom Asbridge, for his constant dedication in guiding me in the preparation of this work. It has been a pleasure to work with him for the past three years, and wherever my career may lead me after this, my enduring commitment to the study of the crusade movement, and the medieval period in general, will remain thanks to him. I would also like to thank my mentor at Queen Mary, Miri Rubin, for her warm reception when I began this program, and for her very useful advice throughout my study. As with any work, my thesis has been richly improved by advice large and small from a number of people. Thus, I would also like to thank Jonathan Riley-Smith (who brought Pope Gregory X to my attention, for which I am extremely grateful), Malcolm Barber, Simon Barton, Stephen Bennett, Andrew Buck, Nikolaos Chrissis, Peter Denley, Peter Edbury, Bernard Hamilton, Ahmet Hilmi, Konrad Hirschler, Kati Ihnat, Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, Kathleen Neal, Erik Niblaeus, Jonathan Phillips, William Purkis, Yossi Rapoport, Donald Richards, Tom Smith, and Chris Wilson. I would also like to thank Richard Greenfield and Adnan Husain at Queen's University in Canada, who guided me through my undergraduate and master's degrees there, and encouraged my interest in the Crusades.

Attempting to tackle Gregory's registers, none of which exist in translation, would have been a daunting task were it not for the aptly named 'Latin therapy' with Sue Edgington. With her instruction, and with the crucial help of Martin Hall and the rest of the Latin therapy group, I was able to gain a better understanding of the sources, and find help at the times when my own skill in Latin was tested. Help in the many works of translation throughout this thesis has also been generously provided by several friends, most of all Avital Vallois, as well as Susannah Brower, Eleonora Corsini, Corinna Coulmas, Tamer El-Khouly, Lena Hammen, and James Hawkey. Any errors of translation, or any other errors in this work, are of course mine alone.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	8
• Historiographical Overview	10
• The Main Sources	21
• Thesis Overview	24
CHAPTER ONE – <i>The Early Life of Pope Gregory X</i>	28
• Introduction	28
• An End to the Longest Papal Interregnum: The Unusual Papal Election of 1271	31
• The Early Education of a Diplomat: In the Entourage of James of Palestrina	35
• The Development of an Organiser: The First Council of Lyons	40
• Negotiating Politics and Personalities: The Archdeacon of Liège	42
• In the Heart of High Politics: The England Mission	49
• Educating a Crusader Pope: The Holy Land Experience	52
• Conclusion	57
CHAPTER TWO – <i>‘We Saw With Our Eyes and Felt with Our Very Own Hand’: The Importance of Understanding the Condition of the Holy Land</i>	59
• Introduction	59
• The Formation of Peace Treaties in the Holy Land	62
• The Effect of Peace Treaties on Crusading	67
• Gregory’s Use of His Personal Experience in the Holy Land	74
• Additional Sources of Information on the Condition of the Holy Land	78
• Letters from the Holy Land	89
• Conclusion	97
CHAPTER THREE – <i>Interim Crusade Planning</i>	99
• Introduction	99
• The Question of French or Papal Control of Crusade Planning	104
• Organising the Supply of an Interim Garrison in the Holy Land	109
• The Command Structure of the Interim Garrison	118
• Missed Opportunities? The Underutilisation of the Rest of Europe	123
• The Problem of Unsuitable Mercenaries	128
• The Availability of Indulgences for Mercenaries to the Holy Land	130
• Conclusion	133
CHAPTER FOUR – <i>A Problem of Governance: Gregory X, Charles of Anjou, and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem</i>	136
• Introduction	136
• The Succession Dispute before Gregory’s Time as Seen in the Historiography	141
• Charles’ Dealings with the Holy Land Immediately before Gregory’s Papal Tenure	144
• Charles’ Dealings with the Holy Land during Gregory’s Papal Tenure	152
• Charles’ Relationship with the Templars and the Proof of His Power in the Holy Land	156

• Patriarch Thomas and the Government of the Holy Land	160
• Gregory's Addresses to Hugh of Lusignan	166
• Maria of Antioch's Claim to the Throne of Jerusalem	171
• The Relationship between Gregory and Charles	178
• Gregory's Role in the Exchange of the Throne of Jerusalem	181
• Conclusion	184
CHAPTER FIVE – <i>Political Exigencies and Gregory's Crusade</i>	186
• Introduction: Gregory's Crusading Priorities	186
• Historiographical Background	190
• Iberia and Empire at the Beginning of Gregory's Papacy	193
• The Election of a New King of the Romans	198
• The Awareness of Oncoming Crisis in Iberia	205
• Double Crisis: the Empire and the Invasion of Iberia in 1275	211
• Conclusion	222
CHAPTER SIX – <i>Imagining Gregory's Crusade</i>	224
• Introduction: the Crusade that Never Was	224
• The Participation of Philip of France	226
• The Participation of Charles of Anjou and Michael Palaeologus	230
• The Participation of Rudolph of Habsburg and Ottokar of Bohemia	237
• The Participation of Edward of England	244
• Iberian and Genoese Participation	250
• The Leadership of Gregory's Crusade	256
• Pope Gregory X's Participation in His Crusade	261
• The Timing of Gregory's Crusade	264
• The Destination of Gregory's Crusade	271
CONCLUSION	282
BIBLIOGRAPHY	287
• Abbreviations	287
• Primary Sources	287
• Secondary Sources	292
APPENDICES	297
• A: Large Quotations: Original Text	297
• B: Family Tree of Henry of Guelders, Bishop of Liège	317
• C: Claimants to the Thrones of Jerusalem and Cyprus	318
• D: Charles of Anjou's Dealings with the Holy Land and the Military Orders Immediately before and during Gregory X's Papal Reign, from the Angevin Chancery Records	319
• E: Participants in Gregory's Crusade	328
• F: Research Notes on Tedaldo Visconti's Early Life	330

INTRODUCTION

Pope Gregory X's papal tenure (September 1271 – January 1276) stood at the very centre of the crusading movement in the later thirteenth century. Gregory was the last pope to come close to launching a traditional *passagium generale* to the Holy Land, and the first pope to use the *passagium particulare*, which would come to be the common crusading form after his death. Gregory's crusading efforts came at a time when the Christians had never been in a worse situation since the disaster of 1187, when Saladin had succeeded in conquering essentially all the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem except Tyre, with Tripoli and Antioch remaining to the north. By Gregory's time, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, now long-since based in Acre, was left with only a few cities and fortresses along the littoral. Tripoli remained – barely – but the principality of Antioch had been completely overrun. St Louis' second crusade had been the last attempt at a general passage to rescue the Latin East in 1270, but it had ended in disaster with Louis' own death in Tunis, far away from the Holy Land. The small remnants of this crusade, led by Lord Edward of England, could do very little to restore Latin power in the Holy Land. Thus, Gregory's own general passage would have been the first to reach the Holy Land since Louis' first crusade ended in the 1250s. The long intervening years had led, particularly in the later 1260s, to widespread Muslim conquest.

The nature of crusading in the thirteenth century was quite different from that in the twelfth. As is well-known, the very first crusaders to the Holy Land were faced with a strong, but disunited enemy, and they focused their efforts on northern Syria and Palestine. Muslim unity after the First Crusade made an already formidable enemy even stronger. After the Third Crusade had succeeded in restoring Acre, but not Jerusalem, the target of subsequent

crusades to the Holy Land shifted to Egypt, in the belief that Jerusalem could only be kept securely in Christian hands if it were not facing an enemy on both sides. Since Egypt was the main source of Muslim power, the Fifth Crusade and the first crusade of St Louis aimed to cut off the head to kill the body. Though this strategy had met with initial success, with both of these crusades capturing Damietta, neither was able to capitalise on this and both ended in failure. Egypt remained very much a Muslim possession. Gregory would have been faced with this poor record when he set about planning his own crusade.

Gregory's crusade would also have had to confront the famed Mamluk Sultan Baybars, who had ruled from Egypt since 1260, and who was responsible for much of the conquest of the Latin East after his predecessor Qutuz's great victory against the Mongols at Ain Jalut in that year. The end of Louis' first crusade had seen the rise to power of these Mamluk sultans. The Mamluk conquests of the Latin East were impressive, but it is interesting to note that while the Mamluks were in power, they were never actually tested by the vast Christian army that could have come from a general passage. Certainly, small crusades (such as that of the bastard sons of James of Aragon, and that of Lord Edward) had confronted the Muslim army when it was under a Mamluk sultanate, but never the combined forces of Christendom. Gregory's planned crusade would have been perhaps the greatest test of Baybars' skill as a leader and general. Baybars would have had to confront almost all the Christian kings of the West, well-funded and very likely with suitably large contingents, instead of the small remnants of eastern Franks who were chronically short of manpower and supplies. With the addition of a possible Christian alliance with the Ilkhanate Mongols, this would have been a formidable opponent for Baybars. But of course, that crusade never happened.

Historiographical Overview

The fact that Gregory's crusade never happened after his death should not discourage an investigation into the planning and preparation that went into it. It is the objective of this thesis to use a study of Gregory's crusading efforts to reveal the changing nature of the crusading movement at this time. Since Gregory's reign did indeed sit on the border of what can now be seen as two different eras in crusading history, the very middle of his papal tenure (1274) has been used by historians as an alternative to the fall of Acre in 1291 to date the change in the nature of crusade planning. This was the date at which Gregory held the Second Council of Lyons, whose goals were to heal the schism with the Greek Church, reform morals, and most importantly, plan the crusade. At the council, the need for smaller groups of professional soldiers to safeguard the Latin presence in the Holy Land was raised and endorsed: the *passagium particulare*. As a result, it was Sylvia Schein who first spearheaded the view of 1274 as the date in which 'the beginning of a new period in crusade planning has to be placed.'¹ This was taken up enthusiastically by Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, who were 'persuaded by recent research that the significance of 1291 has been overstressed and that a real change in thinking had occurred some years earlier.'² They thus ended their collection of crusade documents at 1274. Norman Housley picked up where the Riley-Smiths left off, and started his collection of documents on the later crusades at 1274.³ Elizabeth Siberry also used 1274 to mark the end of her study, in the belief that 'in modern thought 1274 is a watershed, more important than the fall of Acre in 1291.'⁴ In his work *The Later*

¹ This was first posited in her 1980 PhD thesis, and subsequently developed into her book: Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: the Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), p. 50. For the thesis, see: Sylvia Schein, *The West and the Crusades: Attitudes and Attempts, 1291-1312*, PhD Thesis (University of Cambridge, 1980).

² Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, trans. & ed., *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), p. 35.

³ Norman Housley, trans. & ed., *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580* (Houndmills & London, 1996).

⁴ Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985), p. 1.

Crusades, Housley again adopted 1274 as a convenient starting date, because ‘the council adopted strategic and financial approaches which established or systematized a new pattern in crusading practice.’⁵ Antony Leopold acknowledged the trend in placing significance on 1274, but since his work was on recovery treatises, his focus remained heavily on memoirs after 1291. He argued that ‘the style of these memoirs [before 1291] differs greatly from those written after the fall of Acre.’⁶ This should not be seen as a denial of the shift to 1274, since Leopold also acknowledged that ‘it was Gregory X who provided the true inspiration for the theorists when he called for written advice to be submitted to the church council of Lyons in 1274.’⁷ It is thus clear that 1274 has gained wide currency among historians of the crusading movement.

Contrary to this trend, this thesis will argue that using 1274 as the date in which crusade planning changed is problematic. Firstly, an exploration of Gregory’s pontificate demonstrates that the policy of using small groups of professional soldiers was taken up by Gregory from the very beginning of his incumbency, more than two years *before* the Second Council of Lyons. Thus more credit should be given to Gregory himself for this shift, rather than to discussions at the general council. This practice also had some precedent two decades earlier with the permanent garrison St Louis left in the Holy Land after his first crusade. To be clear, this thesis does not argue that Gregory’s papal reign saw no change in the nature of crusade planning – indeed it *was* a turning point – but, it must be made clear that Gregory’s incumbency did not mark the end of the traditional way of crusade planning. Certainly, Gregory endorsed the new *passagium particulare*, but more importantly, Gregory never actually moved away from the old way, that is, the *passagium generale*. Just because his general passage never happened should not lead historians to use Gregory’s papal tenure as

⁵ Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: from Lyons to Alcazar, 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992), p. 5.

⁶ Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 4 & 14.

⁷ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 203.

the time when the old methods were abandoned. It is clear that the traditional general passage was still widely endorsed in Gregory's time, since enlistment in this crusade was very extensive during his reign, and continued after his death as well. Of course, a question then immediately comes to mind: if the general passage were widely endorsed, why did it not happen after Gregory's death? This is intimately connected with a question of leadership and internal problems in the West, which will be discussed presently.

One wonders whether, had Gregory's general passage actually launched, 1274 would still be used to differentiate the two eras: probably not. To borrow from the title of Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith's book, this is the difference between the idea and the reality of the crusade. Schein was clear to point out that the fall of Acre 'was regarded as a sad but ephemeral episode, a temporary setback.'⁸ It is only with retrospect that the historian can see the reality of the fall of Acre as the end of the Latin presence in the Holy Land. It certainly was not seen this way by contemporaries, and ideas of reconquest abounded in advice treatises, as has been made very clear in Leopold's work. In the same vein, though in reality the historian can see that no general passage reached the Holy Land after the failure of Louis' first crusade, this does not mean that the idea was abandoned, even after the failure of Louis' second crusade. It is clear that Gregory, and the many kings who signed up to his crusade, continued to endorse the general passage. Thus, Gregory's reign should be looked at in its entirety (and not just in 1274) as the time when a *dual crusading policy* was taken up by the papacy with the special cooperation of the king of France, Philip III. Gregory's reign still marks a period of change in crusade planning, but rather one which adopted new policies without giving up on the old ones. Housley has pointed to this in *The Later Crusades*, yet he still placed the beginning of his work in 1274 in the belief that the systematisation of the

⁸ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 1.

practice at the general council was the key aspect.⁹ This does not give enough credit to Gregory himself for initiating this practice, based on the information he had gathered while in the Holy Land. While acknowledging that Housley first posited what he called a two stage enterprise for the crusade in Gregory's time, the present study will give a detailed examination of what this actually meant in practice for Gregory's crusade plans, so that this important period in the crusading movement can be better understood.

Although 1274 has been widely accepted as a convenient date for when the nature of crusade planning changed, the actual reign of Pope Gregory X during which this change took place has remained largely uninvestigated. Perhaps the best-known study of Gregory X was Palmer Throop's 1940 work on crusade criticism.¹⁰ Although Throop's work focused on Gregory's papal reign, the author's narrow goal to root out evidence for hostility to the crusade in the later thirteenth century meant that he did not take a broad look at the crusading world in which Gregory found himself. Instead, Throop focused for the most part on the advice treatises given at the general council; this has led to some very suspect conclusions. This point has already been well made in Elizabeth Siberry's work, which was intended as a direct refutation of Throop's crusade hostility thesis. The present analysis of Gregory's pontificate will confirm Siberry's thesis. She wrote: 'admittedly Gregory X's carefully laid plans for a crusade came to nothing, but this should not be attributed, as some historians have suggested, to unfavourable or even hostile public opinion and criticism of the crusading movement.'¹¹ In terms of the more recent scholarship on Gregory, Schein devoted a chapter of her monograph on crusading from 1274-1314 to Gregory's reign from 1274-1276.¹² Yet, she focused once again too much on the advice treatises that Gregory commissioned as well as on the general council to explain the shift in crusade planning. She did not adequately flesh

⁹ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940).

¹¹ Siberry, *Criticism*, p. 220.

¹² Schein, *Fideles*, p. 15-50.

out the *milieu* in which Gregory planned his crusade, especially the situation in the Holy Land itself, which would have aided her in explaining the practical reasons for the shift in crusade planning. While not ignoring the advice treatises, this thesis will shift some of the focus to the more practical reasons behind the change in crusade planning by looking at the condition of the Holy Land around the time of Gregory's papal tenure. In this respect, Schein's study was severely hampered by her starting date of 1274, halfway through Gregory's reign.

By far the closest study of the general council of 1274 was published in 1990 in German by Burkhard Roberg.¹³ His work examined all aspects of the council, so only one chapter was devoted to crusade planning.¹⁴ Roberg published his work one year before Schein released *Fideles Crucis*, and he made no reference to the new wave in thinking about the significance of 1274 to crusade planning. In fact, the crusade historiography he referenced was quite limited and dated, even for 1990: Throop and Prutz were his most common citations. This was probably because the crusade was only of tangential interest to Roberg, whose real concern, of course, was the general council itself. Since Roberg worked in isolation from the new wave in thinking about the significance of 1274 to crusade planning, it is interesting to see the conclusions to which he came. One must keep in mind that Roberg only studied the crusade at the general council, so this seriously limited his understanding of crusade planning as a whole at this time; nevertheless, from his study, Roberg seemingly ran counter to Schein by concluding that Gregory's crusade planning was very traditional. Yet this difference only arose because they were interested in different elements. Roberg believed it was traditional in the sense that Gregory's crusade decree, *Zelus fidei*, was essentially a reworking of decrees from Innocent III and Innocent IV about money collection and the

¹³ Burkhard Roberg, *Das Zweite Konzil von Lyon [1274]* (Paderborn, 1990).

¹⁴ Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 171-217.

crusade indulgence.¹⁵ When presented with the question of the general passage or smaller bands of professional soldiers for the Holy Land, in which Schein was interested for her study, Roberg was unable to see any real significance. Thus, while he pointed out that at the general council the Templar master had not mentioned the *passagium generale*, and instead recommended temporary relief for the Holy Land in the form of 300 knights and 500 footmen, Roberg drew no conclusions about what this meant for crusade planning as a whole.¹⁶ He only noted that:

Such a foreshortened view of the issues at question – limited to local help instead of a general crusade – was characteristic of the perspective of the speaker and the forces he represented: the efforts of the military orders appear before and during the council only very secondarily to the defense of Holy Land (as far as the meagre sources relate).¹⁷

An investigation into Gregory's papal reign as a whole, and not just the general council in 1274, reveals that Roberg's impression of the military orders as being only secondarily interested in the defense of the Holy Land is not correct; indeed, they were one of its strongest remaining defenders, even though they were prone to internal squabbling. Roberg's failure to explore (or, to be fair, his lack of interest in) the changing nature of crusade planning shows the real limitation of his work to those studying the crusade movement, and not ecumenical councils.

After Schein paved the way for acceptance of 1274 as crucial to the crusading movement, one would expect that works written since then would have given appropriate space for Gregory's papal reign. Yet, he tends to be relegated to passing mention, or even worse, is not mentioned at all in the general histories of the Crusades – even those written after Schein put forward her thesis.¹⁸ Besides the obvious exception of Schein herself (whose

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 206-7.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 185-6.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 186.

¹⁸ Gregory X was mentioned only in passing by Asbridge, Tyerman, Riley-Smith, Mayer, and Runciman: Thomas Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2010), p. 649; Christopher Tyerman,

work was not a general history), Jean Richard and Kenneth Setton's works are the only exceptions.¹⁹ Richard clearly understood the importance of Gregory's reign, and he devoted a section entitled 'the Crusade of Pope Gregory X' in his general history to it. Richard's short section is actually one of the best modern treatments of Gregory's crusading efforts in the general histories, but at only eight pages, that is not saying much. He did raise the issue of the importance of cooperation with the Mongols for the new crusade in the Holy Land, but on balance he tended to rely on Palmer Throop's dated monograph on criticism of the crusade.²⁰ This has led Richard to write, like Schein, mostly on the advice treatises and the general council, without giving much depth to Gregory's wider crusade efforts. Setton devoted a large chapter entitled 'the Papal Interregnum, Gregory X, and the Second Council of Lyons (1268-1274)' to his work on the papacy and the Crusades, but he then bizarrely skipped the latter part of Gregory's reign, to begin his next chapter in 1276.²¹ Unlike Schein, Setton did a decent job of setting the background for his discussion of Gregory's pontificate. The fact that he started his chapter in 1268 was wise in this respect, irrespective of his decision to end it prematurely in 1274. Yet, given the early date of Setton's work, there was not yet a clear understanding of the importance of this period to the changing nature of crusade planning. Setton also placed, once again, too much focus on the general council itself. He was especially interested in the work to reunify the Greek and Latin churches. This is useful in itself, of course, but it does not get to the heart of Gregory's crusade planning.

God's War: A New History of the Crusades (London, 2006), p. 812-16; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd Edition (London & New York, 2005), p. 212-13; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd Edition (Oxford, 1988), p. 282; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume III: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 338-42. Gregory and his period in crusading history were not mentioned at all by Phillips and Housley, and had a treatment that amounted to nothing in the relevant volume of Setton's multi-volume history of the Crusades: Jonathan Phillips, *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades* (London, 2009); Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven & London, 2008); Kenneth Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades, Volume II: The Later Crusades 1189-1311* (Philadelphia, 1962).

¹⁹ Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1999), p. 434-41; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy in the Levant, 1204-1571*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 106-122.

²⁰ Throop, *Criticism*.

²¹ Setton, *Papacy*, p. 106-22 & 123-39.

The lack of focus on Gregory in the general texts would seem to suggest that his influence on the crusading movement as a whole was not significant enough to warrant space, which is certainly a mistake. There is a clear gap in the scholarship on Gregory's reign, and one which needs to be filled if the trend to place the changing nature of the crusade in his time is to have a firm foundation. This gap is likely what has led to the misunderstanding of the nature of Gregory's crusading planning, which has led to an over-emphasis on the general council of 1274. To date, if one discounts Throop's work on crusade criticism, the only monograph in the truest sense on Gregory's pontificate was written in 1959 in Italian by Ludovico Gatto.²² He studied not only Gregory's crusading efforts, but also his early life, the council of Lyons, the coronation of Rudolph of Habsburg, and Gregory's Italian politics. Though broad-ranging, Gatto's work is not without fault. Gatto wrote while Palmer Throop's work on crusade criticism still held currency; thus, he accepted that Gregory was working at a time of hostility to the crusade, and argued that in this time the ideal of the crusade had its 'sunset.'²³ He came to the conclusion that Gregory turned a blind eye to the difficulties of launching a crusade, ignoring the concerns of his contemporaries in the belief that there would be a happy outcome.²⁴ Even though he believed that Gregory subordinated every other program in favour of the crusade, he argued that the pope did nothing during his reign to remove the obstacles to its successful launch.²⁵ How he could reach this conclusion is hard to fathom, since it was Gregory who had healed the schism of the churches, instituted the six-year tenth tax on ecclesiastical revenue to fund the crusade, and established a working peace in the West. Gatto almost suggested that Gregory lacked political capacity, but decided instead to conclude that Gregory's interests were essentially different from the other powerful

²² Ludovico Gatto, *Il Pontificato di Gregorio X (1271-1276)* (Rome, 1959).

²³ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 67-8 & 73.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 75.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 80.

figures of his time, since he failed to force the monarchs to realise the crusading enterprise.²⁶ This is rather unfair, since it would have been difficult for Gregory to convince them to leave for the Holy Land from the grave! Gregory had, after all, done his part in their enlistment. Gatto's misguided conclusions leave plenty of room for a new study of Gregory's papal reign, especially one which can take into consideration more recent trends in the scholarship.

Finally, to return to the question of why Gregory's general passage failed to launch if the idea had been so widely endorsed. For Throop, it was 'bitterly hostile public opinion' that was to blame, and while 'at the end of 1275 the chances for the success of Gregory's plan seemed excellent,' in the end, 'Gregory X stands revealed as a pathetic anachronism striving vainly against the current of the times.'²⁷ As noted, this dated view has been thoroughly dismissed by Siberry, who rightly pointed to 'dissension and internal problems in the West' as the key reason for the failure to launch another major crusade.²⁸ But old habits die hard, and even as recently as 2006, Tyerman hearkened back somewhat to the old view by writing that the failure of Gregory's crusade showed 'how politically and emotionally incapable [papal leadership] was to move the hearts of politicians and people.'²⁹ Yet, Schein was correct to use Gregory X as an example to show that 'even in the second half of the thirteenth century, an energetic pope who was willing to sacrifice at least a part of his European interests for the sake of Outremer could successfully pacify Europe and unite its conflicting forces.'³⁰ Housley placed the possibility of success for the crusade on the personality of Gregory himself: 'had Gregory X lived, the pope might have exerted enough pressure on the pliable Philip III and his Angevin uncle, and collected enough of the sexennial tenth, to secure action on a significant scale.'³¹

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 106.

²⁷ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 25, 273, & 289.

²⁸ Siberry, *Criticism*, p. 220.

²⁹ Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 816.

³⁰ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 45.

³¹ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 15.

This thesis will argue that, while Siberry was right to point to dissension and internal problems getting in the way of the crusade, there was something more to it than that in the case of Gregory's crusade. These problems could, as Schein pointed out, be overcome. Housley wrote that a comparison of the failure of Gregory's crusade to launch after his death to the successful launch of the Fifth Crusade after Innocent III's death 'is not really fair, [...] since it overlooks the tremendous growth in the importance of secular leadership in crusading matters which occurred between the early and late thirteenth century.'³² Indeed, secular leadership was crucially important in the case of St Louis' second crusade, since it launched when Pope Clement IV had been long-since dead, and there was no pope to take a leadership role. Leopold wrote that 'after the death of Louis in Tunisia, there was no longer a European prince with the stature or willingness to organise a new crusade, so this task devolved upon the papacy.'³³ This points to the additional reason for the failure of a major crusade in Gregory's time: *too much papal control*.

The notion that there was no king willing to take on a leadership role needs to be re-examined. As this thesis will argue, there is reasonable evidence that King Philip III of France was willing to go on crusade to the Holy Land as early as 1272, since he had not completed his vow from Louis' second crusade. Thus, Gregory was caught in a dilemma: he could have encouraged Philip's leadership initiative to go on crusade in 1272 (or soon after) with what probably would have been a reasonably sized force, given Philip's position as king of France. One can also imagine some sort of aid for this crusade from Philip's uncle, Charles of Anjou, since he had not completed his earlier vow either. It seems reasonable to believe that this crusade would have been big enough to have the potential to accomplish more than Edward of England's small crusade. In fact, R. Stephen Humphreys has pointed out that the smaller expeditions in the thirteenth century 'achieved far more than the two big

³² *Ibid*, p. 14.

³³ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 12.

expeditions.³⁴ However, the other option for Gregory was to take control of crusade organisation like no other pope had since Innocent III. Indeed, Housley named Gregory's crusade as the last in the mould of Innocent III, that is, 'as an expression of papal supremacy in temporal matters.'³⁵ In this latter option, Gregory would use the formidable force of his own personality to organise a crusade of almost unprecedented size after a longer period of preparation. The decisive element in this latter option would have been Gregory himself, since it was he who stabilised Europe, and who commanded the respect of the kings willing to crusade.

It is well-known that Gregory chose the latter option, though he and the king of France did send smaller detachments of troops to the Holy Land in the interim. Gregory chose the latter course in the hope that victory would come from a longer preparation period, which would allow for the combined forces of western *and* eastern Christendom, allied with the Ilkhanate Mongols, to assemble in the Holy Land against the forces of Sultan Baybars. This gamble did not pay off, since his premature death, and the rapid succession of three popes afterwards, reopened the field for the kings of Europe to turn once again to their internal problems. With their own houses in disorder, the kings would be unable to crusade, even though they had showed that they were still interested. Thus, it was partly Gregory's decision to take sole papal control of organising the crusade that contributed to the failure to launch a major crusade in his time, since it meant that King Philip's (admittedly smaller) crusade was not allowed to launch earlier, while the conditions had still been right for him. After Gregory's death, his sole papal control of organising the crusade (along with the rapid succession of popes) also meant that no one else had been closely involved enough to continuing carrying it out, like St Louis had after Pope Clement IV's death.

³⁴ R. Stephen Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century,' *Mamluk Studies Review*, vol. 2 (1998), p. 3.

³⁵ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 7.

The Main Sources

The most important sources for this study are the papal registers of Pope Gregory X, which have been edited by Jean Guiraud.³⁶ However, Guiraud's edition is not without fault; thus, wherever possible, the citations from *Registra Vaticana* 37 and 29A are given alongside in the footnotes, with the differences noted.³⁷ Beyond checking for Guiraud's typographical errors, it has been necessary to use the original manuscript copies because Guiraud did not always print the register letters in full, often contenting himself with only a brief summary that highlighted what he thought were the key points. The choice of what to print in full and what to summarise is very subjective, thus in several cases recourse to the original was not only wise, but essential. Odoricus Raynaldus, the seventeenth-century continuator of Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*, has also been useful for additional verification of some of Gregory's letters, since he reproduced some of them from direct access to the Vatican library.³⁸

Since this thesis aims to move away from a dependence on the advice treatises to explain the reasons for a shift in crusade strategy, it was vital to look at both Frankish and Muslim sources that discuss the condition of the Holy Land in this time. On the Frankish side, the *Estoire de Eracles* has been particularly useful.³⁹ Janet Shirley has published a translation of part of this text up to 1261.⁴⁰ As she has noted, one of the redactions of this text carries the chronicle to 1277.⁴¹ This later section (book 34) is where the *Eracles* has been useful for the present study, even though Shirley believed this section to be 'frankly dull, an

³⁶ *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272-1276)*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris, 1960). Hereafter, *RGX*.

³⁷ *Registra Vaticana* 37, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, MS. *Registra Vaticana* 29A, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, MS. Hereafter, *RV37* and *RV29A*.

³⁸ Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici (Continuati)*, vol. 14 (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1692).

³⁹ *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer; c'est la continuation de l'estoire de Guillaume archevesque de Sur*, ed. Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *RHC, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), 1-481. Hereafter, *Eracles*.

⁴⁰ *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, trans. Janet Shirley (Aldershot, 1999).

⁴¹ *Crusader Syria*, p. 1.

annal consisting of shorter and shorter notes, some of them confused.⁴² Dull though they may be, they do give useful information on troop movements to the Holy Land during Gregory's papacy. The earliest manuscripts of this text were written in Acre, thus the authors must have been close contemporaries to Gregory X, since Acre was lost in 1291.⁴³ This study will also depend upon the *Gestes des Chiprois*, which was named by its modern translator, Paul Crawford, as 'the single most important surviving account of the last days of the mainland crusader states.'⁴⁴ Crawford noted that the author of this chronicle clearly had an association with the Templar master William of Beaujeu.⁴⁵ This makes the author a close contemporary of Pope Gregory X, under whose reign William became master.

On the Muslim side, this thesis relies heavily upon the fourteenth-century chronicle of Ibn al-Furāt, for which a partial English translation is available.⁴⁶ What survives of the *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir* of Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir (a contemporary of Baybars), translated by Syedah Fatima Sadeque, ends before Gregory's pontificate, so cannot serve as a useful source for the present study.⁴⁷ However, another *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, this one by Ali Ibn Shaddad, would have been an invaluable source given that the author was also a contemporary of Baybars, and the surviving piece of this chronicle covers the last five years of Baybars' life (and thus almost exactly Gregory's papal reign). Unfortunately, there has been no translation of this from Arabic into a western European language. Sadeque, in a summary of this work, has noted that Ibn Shaddad gave 'details of [Baybars'] administration, his relations with Anatolia and with the Mongols, in the form of a chronologically arranged account.'⁴⁸ Thus,

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Les gestes des chiprois*, ed. Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *RHC, Historiens Arméniens*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), 651-872. See also a translation: *The 'Templar of Tyre' Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, ed. Paul Crawford (Aldershot, 2003). For the above quotation, see 'Templar,' p. 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. & trans. U. & M.C. Lyons, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1971).

⁴⁷ Al-Qadi Muhi al-din Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. & trans. Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *The Slave King: Baybars I of Egypt* (Dhaka, 1956).

⁴⁸ Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, p. 21.

there is room for further analysis by someone with an understanding of the original text, or if this source should become available in a new translation. However, given that Ibn al-Furāt (according to Sadeque) ‘borrowed extensively from Ibn al-Zahir and Ibn Shaddad,’ the present reliance on Ibn al-Furāt, in the absence of available texts from these other historians, is likely not a serious flaw.⁴⁹

To be clear, information from the advice treatises is still essential to a full understanding of the reasons for the changing nature of crusade planning, but they should be seen as sources complementary to chronicles, not more important than them. Throop gave an extensive treatment of these advice treatises in his work on crusade criticism, but since he was focused on finding hostility to the crusade, he failed to see what these treatises could tell about the condition of the Holy Land in Gregory’s time. William of Tripoli’s *De Statu Saracenorum* has been a particularly useful source, given that he lived in the Holy Land and met Pope Gregory X in Acre.⁵⁰ He thus had firsthand knowledge of what was happening in the Holy Land at this time. Humbert of Romans’ *Opusculum Tripartitum* (often called *Opus Tripartitum*) has also proven useful for understanding western perceptions of crusading.⁵¹ Humbert’s treatise, which was presented at the general council, has also been especially valuable for information on what Gregory and his contemporaries knew about past crusades. Through this, one can draw conclusions about how the memory of past crusades informed decisions about the new crusade.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ William of Tripoli, *De Statu Saracenorum*, ed. H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuge* (Berlin, 1883).

⁵¹ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, ed. Edward Brown, *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expendarum & Fugiendarum*, vol. 2 (London, 1690), 185-229.

Thesis Overview

As the title of this thesis suggests, its focus is on Gregory's crusading efforts. Besides his zeal for the crusade, Gregory is perhaps most widely known as the pope who healed the schism with the Greek Church in 1274 at the general council. Yet, this study will not dwell on this aspect of his papal reign. Where healing the schism impacted on Gregory's crusading efforts will of course be examined, but it will not waste time duplicating the admirable work that has already been done on the topic of church union.⁵² However, a small detour from a focus solely on the crusade has been necessary in chapter one to give an explanation for Gregory's election to the papacy, since he was, after all, only an archdeacon. Chapter one will thus discuss his early life, spent in Italy, France, the Low Countries, England, and the Holy Land. It was especially his time in the Holy Land that laid the foundation for Gregory's reign as a crusader pope, but even the time before this gave Gregory valuable contacts and experience in Europe that he could utilise as pope.

Chapter two will lay a foundation of another sort. This will be an examination of the condition of the Holy Land around the time of Gregory's papal tenure. Such a detailed study will present new, practical reasons for the decisions that Gregory made about the crusade, especially considering that he had firsthand experience in the Holy Land from his crusade there. The first part of this chapter will demonstrate the effect that the recent peace treaty had on crusading in this time. It will argue that, while Linda Ross demonstrated that past popes had timed crusades to coincide with the expiry of a truce, in Gregory's time the truce between Sultan Baybars and King Hugh of Jerusalem would not have had an impact on the planned

⁵² For more on the church union see, for example, the recent study by Nikolaos G. Chrissis, *Crusading in Romania: A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204-1282*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, (University of London, 2008), (Publication forthcoming with Brepols, April 2012), p. 206-20; Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 59-87; Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, MA, 1959), p. 258-304; Donald M. Nicol, 'Popular Religious Roots of the Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons,' ed. Christopher Ryan, *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1989), p. 321-339.

crusade.⁵³ It will then confront Leopold's argument that 'there is no evidence to suggest that crusaders usually took pains to inform themselves of conditions in the East before they left Europe,' with clear evidence to the contrary, since not only was Gregory seeking information, but so too was King Philip.⁵⁴ Valuable information was also sent by letter from residents of the Holy Land to the West. Through these sources, as well as the advice treatises and Frankish and Muslim chronicles, this chapter will paint a picture of the fragile condition of the Holy Land in Gregory's time.

The first part of Gregory's dual crusading policy was the sending of small bands of professional troops to safeguard the Latin East, which will be named in this thesis the 'interim crusade,' since this was only meant to be a temporary stopgap before the general passage could launch. It is in this context that King Philip's desire to go on crusade in 1272 will be discussed, which Gregory rejected in favour of an even larger general passage. Chapter three presents the organisational structure of the interim crusade planning, which was spearheaded by Gregory, but carried out with the help of the king of France. It will also examine the nature of these small bands of professional troops, who were mercenaries and technically not crusaders, though they were performing a similar role. It will consider the problems that arose from using such people, which Gregory himself had to deal with, and which was also discussed theoretically by Humbert of Romans.

A study of Pope Gregory X's crusading efforts has provided an ideal opportunity to examine the role that Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, played in the Holy Land at this time, since the two worked closely together. Indeed, Gregory has even been accused of encouraging Charles to take up Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne of Jerusalem, since the government in the Holy Land was fragile after the long absence of a king. This accusation has no grounds, and thus chapter four will thoroughly disprove this popular theory. At the

⁵³ Linda Drummond Ross, *Relations between the Latin East and Western Europe, 1187-1291*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of London, 2003).

⁵⁴ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 10.

same time, such a topic allows for an investigation into how Gregory dealt with the government of the Holy Land (especially through his legate, the patriarch of Jerusalem), while the general passage was prepared, and the interim mercenaries were sent there.

Given the focus on crusading, this thesis will not look heavily at Gregory's domestic policy, except where it relates to his crusade. Thus, chapter five (and part of chapter six) will give an extensive examination of the conflict over the throne of king of the Romans and ultimately the imperial title, since bringing about peace in the West was a necessity for launching the crusade. In addition, the eventual winner in this conflict, Rudolph of Habsburg, was to be one of the leading figures in Gregory's crusade. The fact that the loser of this struggle, King Alfonso X of Castile, was a key player in the crusade in Iberia has allowed the chance to demonstrate that Gregory's crusading policy was not as narrowly focused on crusading to the Holy Land as has been previously thought. Instead, Gregory's vision of the crusade included that against the Muslims of Iberia and North Africa, as this chapter will show. Chapter five seeks to put into practice the pluralist notion that crusades were not only those that went to the Holy Land. Contrary to the common practice among historians of the crusade to present these two theatres separately, this thesis will present them together, and show that crusading in Iberia and North Africa formed a complementary part of Gregory's crusade plans for the Holy Land.

Finally, as a companion to chapter three in Gregory's dual crusading policy, chapter six will present what Gregory's general passage would have looked like. This will not be the work of an overactive imagination, but rather a work based solely on the evidence available. This chapter will begin by presenting the evidence for the unprecedented scale of recruitment for Gregory's crusade, which would have included almost all the kings of the West, as well as the Byzantine emperor, and the Ilkhanate Mongols. It will also address the question of who would have led this crusade given that so many kings had joined it, and especially

considering that Gregory himself hoped to go with them. This will be followed by a discussion of the timing of Gregory's crusade, which has been widely disputed. It will show that, while Gregory desired a longer preparation period for the general passage than would have happened if King Philip had gone to the Holy Land in 1272, the pope's plan to launch the crusade in 1276 meant that he was still operating faster than his predecessors. This chapter will end by overturning any idea that Gregory's crusade would have followed the thirteenth century's traditional route to Egypt, by presenting compelling evidence that this crusade would have taken the land route through Turkey to northern Syria, and thence to Palestine.

THE EARLY LIFE OF POPE GREGORY X

Chapter One

Introduction

Pope Gregory X, formerly Tedaldo Visconti,¹ was born near the beginning of the thirteenth century, though, as is often the case, a more precise date of birth is not known.² As his anonymous biographer related, Tedaldo was born to a noble family of Piacenza, but more importantly, his nobility of birth was surpassed by his nobility of character.³ This particular form of nobility would come to mark the life and career of Tedaldo, and help propel the unordained archdeacon to the height of ecclesiastical power in the West. Indeed, even the Greek historian George Pachymeres remarked upon the renown of his virtuous character when he wrote of Tedaldo's election to the papacy.⁴ Though Tedaldo was part of several important events in his earlier life, Ludovico Gatto's out-of-date chapter on Tedaldo's life from birth to papal election, and Burkhard Roberg's more recent chapter, are two of the only

¹ There are two sources which did not name him 'Tedaldo' or some like form. They instead named him 'Hesenbardus,' but should not be taken as factual. *Memoriale Potestatum Regiensium, Gestor umque Iis Temporibus ab Anno 1154 usque ad Annum 1290, Auctore Anonymo Regiense, RIS*, vol. 8 (Milan, 1726), p. 1135. Albert Milioli, *Liber de Temporibus et Aetatibus et Cronica Imperatorum, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 31 (Hannover, 1903), p. 540 & 542.

² Christine Renardy gave 1210 as Tedaldo's date of birth, having cited Ludovico Gatto for her information. Christine Renardy, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège: repertoire biographique 1140-1350* (Paris, 1981), p. 448. However, Gatto himself went only so far as to write that Tedaldo was born 'at the beginning of the thirteenth century.' Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 29. Gatto then noted what he recognized as guesswork on the part of Alphonso Ciacconio, which placed Tedaldo's birth 'at the year from the virgin birth, 1210.' 'Anno à partu Virginis 1210.' Alphonso Ciacconio, *Vitae, et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium ab Initio Nascentis Ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX P.O.M.*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1677), p. 185. Burkhard Roberg has likewise given in to the temptation to give a set, though unsubstantiated, date of birth by stating that Tedaldo was born around 1210 (without actually documenting his source). Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 17.

³ *Vita Gregorii Papae Decimi Patria Placentini*, ed. Pietro Maria Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, vol. 2 (Piacenza, 1651), p. 343. Campi convincingly dated this anonymous life to the 1290s. He cited the knowledge the author had of St Louis as well as the young Tedaldo as proof, but more importantly, he pointed out that the author called Louis only 'a vessel of virtue, and mirror of the Faith' ('*virtutum vas, Fidei speculum &c.*') and never mentioned his sainthood, which was bestowed upon him in 1297. *Vita Gregorii*, p. 342.

⁴ George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, trans. Vitalien Laurent, vol. 2 (Paris 1984), p. 472.

works that address his early life, and certainly the only ones that do so at length.⁵ This is not surprising, given that, outside of Gatto's Italian scholarship, many historians have neglected even the pontificate of Gregory X, relegating his reign to mere passing comments in general texts.

Before his papal election, Tedaldo was party to some of the most formative events of the thirteenth century, and knew some of the most important figures of his time in both western Europe and the Holy Land. This gave him the diplomatic experience, organisational ability, high contacts, and experience in the Holy Land he would need to be a suitable candidate for not just for the papacy in general, but more importantly for the papal role as head of the struggling crusading movement. These elements have formed the general consensus among historians to explain Tedaldo's election, and an investigation into Tedaldo's early life supports this.⁶ The best evidence for such skills comes from Bartholomew of Lucca, Tedaldo's contemporary, who wrote that '[Pope Gregory X] was uncommonly experienced in secular affairs, although modest in learning, and he did not exert for the gain of money, except for alms for the poor.'⁷ Roberg has also highlighted the differences between Tedaldo and his predecessors as pope. He wrote that with his election, there was 'neither a scholar nor a lawyer-pope, like some of his predecessors and successors in the thirteenth century.'⁸ His election was a marked difference in the type of person elected to the papacy in the thirteenth century, but one that must have been deemed necessary by the cardinals. Daniel Waley wrote that Tedaldo's election 'brought to the papal throne a man who had no experience of the problems of the Papal State and whose dearest projects were

⁵ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 29-61; Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 17-31.

⁶ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 13. Gatto cited Tedaldo's experience more broadly, and was right to say: 'his preparation, his long career, carried out for about thirty years alongside the most prominent men in the Holy See and the European courts, had made a politician of the first order.' Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 52.

⁷ Bartholomew was a close companion of Thomas Aquinas. Pope Gregory X had called Thomas to the Second Council of Lyons, but he died along the way. Bartholomew of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica Nova*, MGH, *Scriptorum*, vol. 39 (Hannover, 2009), p. 585. See Appendix A, 1:7.

⁸ Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 19.

concerned with the Holy Land.⁹ Waley himself was more interested in the Papal State, so can be excused for his criticism of Tedaldo's priorities. Raynaldus, however, has reprinted the letter that the cardinals sent to Tedaldo on his election. They noted that he was unanimously selected as a compromise candidate, and they pointed especially to his experience gained while in the Holy Land as a crucial asset in aiding the crusade there.¹⁰ No other reason for his election was noted by the cardinals that would indicate any other agenda that they were hoping this candidate would take up. Thus, interest in carrying out the crusade must have been a priority even in the College of Cardinals at the time for them to make such a selection. Now that Charles of Anjou was established in Italy, and the Hohenstaufen threat was gone, the Church had an opportunity to devote more of its energy to the Holy Land. With his personal experience on crusade, Tedaldo was one of the men best placed to understand the needs of Holy Land, so that he could then fulfil them as pope.

This chapter does not seek to disprove the general consensus among scholars for the reasons behind Tedaldo's election as pope as it relates to his diplomatic experience and organisational ability. Indeed, the notion that Tedaldo was selected as pope because of his experience in the Holy Land is not a new one. Nevertheless, it is necessary to paint a complete picture in any study focusing so closely on one figure, so that the foundation for Gregory's influence on crusading during his papal reign is established. Thus, this chapter will first examine Tedaldo's election in 1271, before stepping back to his earlier life in the retinue of the influential cardinal-bishop, James of Palestrina. His time with James gave the young Tedaldo experience in the difficulties of conflict between the Church and the Empire, and likely gave the young man his first contact with the French royal family, with whom he became close. It will then look at his time as canon of Lyons and his assistance at the First Council of Lyons, which could not but have had an influence on the Second Council of

⁹ Daniel Waley, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1961), p. 182.

¹⁰ Raynaldus, *Annales*, p. 183.

Lyons, which Pope Gregory X himself chaired. It will also explore Tedaldo's time as archdeacon of Liège and his mission to England, which gave him further diplomatic experience and wide-ranging political contacts. Finally, this chapter will close by examining Tedaldo's time on crusade in the Holy Land with Lord Edward, which set the stage for a pontificate focused very closely on rescuing the Holy Land.

An End to the Longest Papal Interregnum: The Unusual Papal Election of 1271

Tedaldo was elected to the papal throne on 1 September 1271, ending almost three years of papal interregnum – the longest in history. After the death of his predecessor, Clement IV, in November 1268, discord within the College of Cardinals, fuelled in part by Charles of Anjou, prevented the speedy election of a successor. The College of Cardinals was divided between opposing factions to such a degree that the two-thirds majority necessary to elect a new pope could not be reached. The Angevin faction was in favour of an ultramontane pope, especially one with French interests at heart, while the imperial faction looked for an Italian pope, and a suitable contender for the imperial vacancy.¹¹ Unlike his pious brother St Louis, Charles of Anjou seemed happy to see the papacy remain vacant, or at least have only the election of an ultramontane pope. The vacancy allowed Charles to continue unhindered in his schemes to conquer the Byzantine Empire. During his rule, Pope Clement IV had been interested in union between the Eastern and Western Churches, which effectively forced Charles to rein in his desire for the conquest of Byzantium. After all, it would be harder (though demonstrably not impossible, given the results of the Fourth Crusade) to rationalize conflict with a brother Christian than it would be with a schismatic. Ultimately, the election of Tedaldo meant that Charles was yet again frustrated in his attempts on Byzantium; as

¹¹ *Annales Placentini Gibellini, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 18 (Hannover, 1863), p. 533.

pope, Gregory was to take the same conciliatory line with the Eastern Church as Clement had taken before him, and even enact a union of the churches.

If one follows Runciman's view, it was Charles and his nephew, King Philip III of France, who helped push for the College of Cardinals finally to come to a decision on the election of Tedaldo. Runciman wrote that although Charles and Philip made efforts to convince the cardinals to choose a pope, their efforts 'came to nothing at the time, but they seem to have persuaded both parties in the College that a compromise was essential.'¹² Perhaps he has given Philip and Charles too much credit. Ciacconio wrote that 'in the meantime, kings Philip of France and Charles of Naples came to the Roman Curia at Viterbo, asking the College for the swift and timely creation of a pope. They accomplished very little, and abandoned it unfinished.'¹³ Similarly, the annals of Genoa noted that the two kings stayed for some time at Viterbo, and asked the cardinals to come to a decision about the election of a new pope. When the kings saw that no progress was being made, however, they left.¹⁴ That Charles and Philip encouraged the cardinals to come to a decision is closer to the truth than that they 'persuaded' them. But given that Tedaldo was well-known to the French royal family, and that he was elected soon after Charles and Philip had this meeting with the cardinals, perhaps the two kings had actually suggested Tedaldo for the role.¹⁵ To be sure, this does not mean that Gregory was part of the Angevin faction, but perhaps even Charles was ready for a compromise by this time. It will never be known for sure. Ultimately, the

¹² Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 145.

¹³ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 177. See Appendix A, 1:13.

¹⁴ [Annales Ianuenses] *Oberti Stanconi, Iacobi Aurie, Marchisini de Cassino et Bertolini Bonifatii Annales*, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 18 (Hannover, 1863), p. 271.

¹⁵ Jean Dunbabin has stated that Tedaldo Visconti 'had no links to the Capetian family.' This is patently wrong, as will be shown in this chapter. Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London & New York, 1998), p. 136. In addition, proof of their connection comes from Gregory's letter to Charles after he had become pope. He wrote of his close relationship with Charles' family. *RGX*, n. 751 (RV37, f. 68v).

necessity of filling the papal vacancy led the cardinals to choose a subcommittee of six of their members to elect a new pope.¹⁶

Tedaldo's anonymous biographer wrote that the electoral decision was reached harmoniously with the aid of a divine wind of inspiration.¹⁷ That divine wind might have been Bonaventure, but the anonymous author made no mention of him. This is surprising, given Bonaventure's widespread reputation, as well as the fact that he would later be made a cardinal by Gregory, and would play a large role in the Second Council of Lyons. The *Nova Additio Augustini Oldoini* in Ciacconio's work, however, took up the chance to discuss Bonaventure and his potential role.¹⁸ He wrote:

The absent Tedaldo is announced as Roman pontiff by the recommendation, as some relate, of St Bonaventure, minister general of the order of St Francis. Nevertheless, whether truly in the presence of the cardinals or absent, Bonaventure as the originator was uncertain when, after so long, almost three years, the assembly announced Tedaldo as pontiff.¹⁹

Although the reality is uncertain, a recommendation from the famous Bonaventure would carry significant weight. He had been at the University of Paris at the same time as Tedaldo, and Pietro Maria Campi said they knew each other well.²⁰ Considering that Gregory convinced Bonaventure to take up the position of cardinal, this was probably true. It is, in addition, unclear how well-known Tedaldo was among the Electoral College. Ottobono Fieschi, cardinal-deacon of St Adriano, and Henry of Susa, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, certainly

¹⁶ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 177. In the *additio* to Ciacconio's work, written by Andrea Victorelli, the six cardinals are listed: 'Simon tit.S.Martini, Guido tit.S.Laurentij in Lucina Presbyteri, Richardus S.Angeli, Octavianus Ubaldinus S.Mariae in via Lata, Ioannes Caietanus Ursinus S.Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano, Iacobus Sabellus S.Mariae in Cosmedin Diaconi Cardinales.' *Ibid*, p. 181. They are also noted in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. Joannes Dominicus Mansi, vol. 24 (Graz, 1961), p. 21.

¹⁷ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

¹⁸ In the descriptions of the cardinals who were created by Gregory X, which follows the life of Gregory in Ciacconio's work, the space devoted to Bonaventure is several times that of the other cardinals combined. Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 192-202. This addition to Ciacconio drew upon the anonymous life of Gregory X included in Campi, whose description of Tedaldo's origin and character was quoted directly. *Ibid*, p. 185.

¹⁹ *Ibid*. See Appendix A, 1:19.

²⁰ Pietro Maria Campi, *Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, vol. 2 (Piacenza, 1651), p. 236.

knew Visconti, since they worked together on diplomatic missions, but remarks from the anonymous biographer cast some doubt on Tedaldo's repute.²¹

In a curious contradiction from the anonymous biographer, who seemed eager only to laud the reputation of Tedaldo, he wrote on Tedaldo's election that:

Many were astounded – the man a pilgrim, the man entirely unknown by certain members of the cardinals, and about whose death or life the truth was uncertain. In such a manner the cardinals had chosen, not waiting, because where the spirit wills and breathes is unfamiliar – from where it may come, or to where it may go.²²

Even more telling about Tedaldo's election and potential reputation, the anonymous author wrote that 'many of the cardinals were opposed to him.'²³ When Tedaldo came to be vested with the papal mantle, however, they acquiesced. The notion that Tedaldo was unknown to some of the cardinals seemingly contradicts reports of his widespread repute.²⁴ Likely, his biographer was simply trying to inflate the importance of the event of Tedaldo's election by magnifying the discussion surrounding it, but it does raise an important question, beyond the rather simple rationalization of 'compromise:' why was Tedaldo Visconti, a man not even ordained as a priest, chosen to be pope?

Franciscus Pipinus, the translator of Marco Polo's *Il Milione* from the Italian into Latin, wrote of rumours that Tedaldo was chosen because the cardinals were actually hoping

²¹ The 1265-1268 mission with Ottobono was to settle the conflict between King Henry III and the barons, especially Simon of Montfort, and will be discussed in greater detail presently. In an earlier mission, Tedaldo had served as a messenger for King Henry III of England with Henry of Susa, then archbishop of Embrun, as noted below.

²² *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345. See Appendix A, 1:22.

²³ 'Plures ex Cardinalibus, qui sibi occurrerant.' *Ibid*, p. 346.

²⁴ Tedaldo was certainly well-known in northern spheres, though he was an Italian. As one of the archdeacons of Liège, a city whose temporal affairs were governed by the bishop, he would have had access to many powerful figures. He had also been sent on the diplomatic mission to England because, as Gatto pointed out, Tedaldo was 'expert in English problems, known for years in court, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical circles.' Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 46. On the same topic, the anonymous biographer related that Tedaldo was beloved by the English king, bishops, barons, and even Montfort. *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345. In addition, because of Tedaldo's good reputation, he had been approached in his earlier life by several cardinals interested in having him in their retinue after the death of James of Palestrina (about which, more will be discussed presently). *Ibid*, p. 344.

that he had already died in Acre.²⁵ It would take time for word of his election to reach the Holy Land, and for word of his possible death to return. At least in that time, the cardinals could escape the deadlock that had been plaguing the election of a new pope without having to worry about the repercussions of electing a partisan pope. Pipinus' theory is clever, but it does not give Tedaldo his due. After all, there was only a chance that the man was, indeed, dead. If he were alive – and as it turns out, he was – he was to be pope. It would be he who would have to take the reins of the Roman Church, which had been plagued in the thirteenth century by conflict with Frederick II and his various successors; plagued by a fickle, powerful, and partisan population of Rome; plagued by the increasingly consistent failures of the crusades to the East; and plagued by struggles for control of northern, central and southern Italy. With a reasonable chance that Tedaldo was, in fact, alive, the cardinals would have been unwise to elect someone who would be incapable of managing the Church amid the struggles of the thirteenth century. Thus, Tedaldo must have had qualities that made him an eligible candidate. His organisational ability, diplomatic experience, and high political contacts gained from years spent in Italy, France, the Low Countries, and England, as well as his experience in the Holy Land, made him a suitable candidate. It is to these experiences that this chapter now turns.

The Early Education of a Diplomat: In the Entourage of James of Palestrina

Tedaldo gained his formative experience in high politics while in the entourage of Cardinal-bishop James of Palestrina. In fact, Tedaldo's anonymous biographer made little mention of his life before he joined James. For the anonymous biographer, the start of his text was seemingly driven by a wish to establish a sterling reputation for Tedaldo; thus, it was

²⁵ Franciscus Pipinus, *Chronicon Fratris Francisci Pipini Bononiensis Ordinis Prædicatorum ab Anno MCLXXVI usque Annum circiter MCCCXIV*, RIS, vol. 9 (Milan, 1726), p. 700.

sufficient to link Tedaldo to the Visconti of Piacenza, from whom, he wrote, Tedaldo derived his cleanliness of life and charming character.²⁶ After quickly outlining an education in the liberal arts and canon law, the anonymous biographer proceeded to the more documented period of Tedaldo's life.²⁷ There was, however, something more to his early life.

Tedaldo's career options, typical of young men born to noble families in his time, were to enter into a military life, or a spiritual one. Tedaldo devoted himself to the Church, perhaps having had his calling near the church of St Sylvester, where, in the seventeenth century, Pietro Campi reported an inscription reading: 'this little shrine was dedicated to the divine faith and richly endowed from its foundation by the magnificent Visconti from Piacenza.'²⁸ It is likely that Tedaldo later became a canon in the collegiate church of San Antonino in Piacenza. Campi, himself a canon in Piacenza in the seventeenth century, wrote that Tedaldo was a canon of San Antonino, and even held this position later in his career, after he had been made an archdeacon of Liège.²⁹

Tedaldo's presence in the entourage of James of Palestrina, whom Pope Gregory IX made cardinal-bishop in 1231, brought him into the heart of politics. The anonymous biographer wrote that Tedaldo had heard of the sanctity of James, and wanted to join him.³⁰ James himself was from Piacenza. It is not known if this link in origin meant that James was already familiar with Tedaldo, but it seems very likely that at least he would be familiar with the Visconti family. The Visconti family had filled important local positions; indeed, it was Oberto Visconti who filled the role of *podestà* of Piacenza in 1234, which was just before Tedaldo joined James' entourage. Gatto goes so far as to conjecture that this Oberto was Tedaldo's father, although this cannot be substantiated.³¹ It would, however, help to explain

²⁶ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ As quoted in Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 31. See Appendix A, 1:28.

²⁹ Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 185.

³⁰ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343.

³¹ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 29.

the powerful legate taking Tedaldo into his entourage. It certainly would not hurt to have eminent local citizens on his side, considering that James was sent to Lombardy, and Piacenza specifically, to settle disputes among the city factions of Ghibellines and Guelfs. James was also supposed to disrupt the influence of Emperor Frederick II and to ensure that Frederick's intended Diet of Piacenza never happened³²

Tedaldo did not immediately go with James, although he was by then connected to the cardinal-bishop. Instead, he stayed in Piacenza until 1239, when he then joined James *en route* to France, by way of Genoa. The anonymous biographer related that Gregory IX had sent James to France in order to gather aid against the 'wickedness' of Frederick.³³ The arrival of Frederick into the narrative slowed the pace of the anonymous life, and much more detail of this formative period emerged than did in Tedaldo's earlier life. Giving Frederick, and his conflict with the papacy, such a place of prominence in this text shows how important these events would be to forming Tedaldo's character in the eyes of his anonymous biographer.

James and Tedaldo came to Aix-en-Provence in 1239, where Count Raymond-Berengar IV³⁴ gave his formal support in the conflict with Frederick II.³⁵ They later went to Lyons, where Tedaldo was made a canon. Although when he became pope, Tedaldo reflected in two letters on his earlier time as a canon in Lyons, this position was passed over by the

³² An accessible history of this period, and of the role of James in the conflict between Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II, is David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, 3rd Edition (London, 2002).

³³ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343.

³⁴ Through the marriages of his four daughters, the house of Raymond-Berengar IV would be powerfully connected to four monarchs: Marguerite married Louis IX of France, Eleanor married Henry III of England, Sanchia married Richard of Cornwall (who later became king of the Romans), and Beatrice married Charles of Anjou, (who later became king of Sicily). John of Hocsem, *La chronique de Jean de Hocsem*, ed. Godefroid Kurth (Brussels, 1927) p. 40.

³⁵ An agreement dated 10 November 1239, indicated that the count agreed to send 40 knights and ten ballistae whether to Italy or to Apulia in aid of Pope Gregory IX. Tedaldo was recorded as a witness: '*magistro Teduldo dicto Vicecomite.*' Given that this was before Tedaldo attended the Paris school, the title of '*magister*' as early as 1239 might indicate that Tedaldo had, in fact, attended university at Piacenza. *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive Constitutiones, Privilegia, Mandata, Instrumenta Quae Supersunt Istius Imperatoris et Filiorum Ejus: Accedunt Epistolae Papparum et Documenta Varia*, ed. Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 5 (Paris, 1857), p. 488-9.

anonymous biographer.³⁶ This is curious, considering the position that Lyons played both in Tedaldo's life before becoming pope, and of course, with his Second Council of Lyons after he had become pope. Perhaps the anonymous biographer aimed to centre Tedaldo's identity on the position of archdeacon, which complimented the organisational and administrative ability, as well as the moral discipline, that he said made up Tedaldo's character. If this were the case, it is not surprising that the biographer would come to call Tedaldo 'archdeacon' so early in his history – even earlier than was chronologically accurate – and proceed repeatedly to identify Tedaldo up until his election to the papacy not as 'Tedaldo,' but as '*archidiaconus*.'

Around the time Tedaldo became a canon in Lyons, 1239, it has been said that he became archdeacon of Hainaut, in Liège, and perhaps also a canon of Liège. This was not the case. Roberg pointed out that there has been confusion over when Tedaldo was made archdeacon, but he offered no solution.³⁷ Certainly, Tedaldo was to become an archdeacon of Liège – but not yet. The anonymous biographer did his part to fuel the misconception about the archdeaconate, but even so, he at least did not give James any credit for getting Tedaldo the job, as Gatto had done: 'we must conclude that James of Palestrina held Tedaldo Visconti in great esteem to entrust him with a post of so much responsibility.'³⁸ In reality, Tedaldo did not gain the archdeaconate of Hainaut until 19 November 1246, when Pope Innocent IV gave it to him.³⁹ James had died in June 1244, so he could not have procured the position for Tedaldo, as Gatto alleged. Gatto was not helped by the fact that the anonymous biographer was never terribly concerned about dates, contenting himself to outline a narrative of events

³⁶ In a letter to Peter of Tarentaise, archbishop of Lyons (later Pope Innocent V) on 8 June 1272, Gregory X reflected favourably on his time in a subordinate office in Lyons. *RGX*, n. 37. (*RV37*, f. 12v-13r). He did so again to the dean and cathedral chapter of Lyons in a letter dated 22 April 1275. *RGX*, n. 601. (*RV37*, f. 226v-227r).

³⁷ Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 17.

³⁸ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 35.

³⁹ *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Élie Berger, vol. 1 (Paris, 1884), p. 334. Renardy recorded the date as 9 November, but both Berger recorded it as 19 November. Renardy, *Maîtres*, p. 448.

whose dating was nothing more detailed than that one thing inevitably came after another. Even with this loose structure, however, the position of Tedaldo gaining his archdeaconate was out of place.

The anonymous life related, immediately after telling of Tedaldo gaining the archdeaconate, that Tedaldo had fallen ill and had to remain in France when James left for a 1240 council that had been called by Gregory IX.⁴⁰ James of Palestrina and several other church officials were then famously captured in the waters off Genoa by agents of Frederick II. Frederick imprisoned James until the 1243 conclave, which elected Pope Innocent IV. Tedaldo, presumably after he had recovered from his illness in France, travelled to the Roman Curia to do what he could to agitate for the release of James.⁴¹ After his release, the anonymous biographer asserted that Pope Innocent IV, on the advice of James, offered Tedaldo the position of bishop of Piacenza. In a move evidently motivated by the virtue that was said to form part of his character, Tedaldo turned it down, concerned that people would believe he had something to do with the removal of Giacomo of Castellarquato – his friend – from the position.⁴² Later, the anonymous life stated that, when James of Palestrina died, many other cardinals hoped that Tedaldo would join their retinues. Tedaldo's reputation clearly seemed to be growing. His experience with James gave him his first taste of life in the high political sphere, and certainly would have put him into contact with the top political figures of his day, though probably not in any great capacity. These experiences would serve as a useful foundation as Tedaldo proceeded further into high politics.

⁴⁰ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 344.

⁴² *Ibid*. Giacomo had been elected to the position due in part to the work of the apostolic legate Gregory Montelongo, but this was before Innocent IV had been elected – during a papal vacancy. The cathedral chapter argued that Gregory was not empowered to elect Giacomo. As an alternative, James suggested to Innocent that Tedaldo would be a candidate for the bishopric who would be able to settle conflict between the disputing factions. Gaetano Tononi, *Storia del Cardinale Giacomo Pecoraria, Vescovo di Preneste: 1170-1244* (Parma, 1877), p. 290-2.

The Development of an Organiser: The First Council of Lyons

Before Tedaldo received his archdeaconate at Liège, he participated in the First Council of Lyons, convened by Pope Innocent IV in 1245. Tedaldo's time at this council likely gave him insight into the decrees enacted there; in fact, as Pope Gregory X, Tedaldo held the Second Council of Lyons and drew upon Innocent IV's earlier work at the First Council of Lyons.⁴³ The newly elected archbishop of Lyons during the first council, Philip of Savoy, was a friend of Tedaldo.⁴⁴ The anonymous life recounted how Tedaldo returned to Lyons in order to obtain assurance about his status there (this was presumably after the Piacentine bishopric affair).⁴⁵ Tedaldo's arrival could not have come at a more opportune time for Philip, who was, according to the anonymous life, so happy to have Tedaldo there that he said: 'O blessed Jesus, I thank you, because you sent to me a man following my own heart, through whose providence, just as with the pope and cardinals coming here with me for celebrating the council, I ought to manage and I will be able to be informed.'⁴⁶ The anonymous life portrayed the archbishop as practically begging Tedaldo to stay and help with the organization of the council, with Tedaldo finally condescending to aid the archbishop because he believed that God could be served in such a way.⁴⁷ The anonymous author was in the business of praising Tedaldo's ability – of that there is no doubt – but he overstated his case to the point of incredulity by stating that with Tedaldo's help, and 'through whose

⁴³ This was first noted by Throop, *Criticism*, p. 237. It was also mentioned by Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 12. Roberg has pointed out, more specifically, that Gregory X reproduced Innocent IV's order for prelates to encourage people through sermons to leave money in their wills for the Holy Land. Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 207.

⁴⁴ Philip of Savoy was archbishop of Lyons from 1245-67, but resigned to become count of Savoy when he became the unexpected heir. In the aforementioned letter to Peter of Tarentaise, archbishop of Lyons (later Pope Innocent V) on 8 June 1272, Gregory X reflected fondly on the 'noble' and 'beloved' Philip, who by the time that Gregory was writing the letter was count of Savoy. *RGX*, n. 37 (*RV37*, f. 12v-13r). See also Gregory X's letter to Philip: *RGX*, n. 347 (*RV37*, f. 116v).

⁴⁵ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 344.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:46.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

direction and counsel, the whole curia, as much in the head as in the limbs, obtained a peaceful state and rest.⁴⁸

While it is not likely that the whole of the Roman Curia depended upon the organizational ability of Tedaldo for their states of mind, it does seem to be true, based on the anonymous biography, that Tedaldo helped Philip to organise the council. Unfortunately, further details are lacking. Tedaldo's experience in this and as canon of Lyons no doubt helped him choose his familiar Lyons as a place to hold council when he became pope, although Lyons is also a central and fairly secure location. If Tedaldo were indeed useful at the council, as the anonymous biographer asserted, then his work there might have shown that he was the right man to tackle the job of archdeacon of Hainaut, which became available in the following year.

There had been trouble at Hainaut. When Margaret of Flanders inherited the county of Flanders in 1244 after the death of her childless older sister, there were disputes over which of her sons would succeed her in Flanders and Hainaut. She had had two marriages: the first with Bouchard of Avesnes, with whom she had John; the second marriage was to William of Dampierre, with whom she had William and Guy. The stepbrothers, John and William, both contested the territory. The conflict between them, and with their mother, would become known as the 'War of the Succession of Flanders and Hainaut.' The disputes over Hainaut led the archbishop of Cologne to write to the pope in February 1246 to ask that he uphold the rights of the bishop of Liège in the county.⁴⁹ At the same time, the archbishop of Trier wrote the pope to remind him that the laws of the empire stated that a fief must return to the suzerain (i.e. the bishop of Liège) if the vassal dies without a male heir.⁵⁰ The county of Hainaut was briefly in the possession of Charles of Anjou in the early 1250s, after Margaret

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:48.

⁴⁹ *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. Stanislas Bormans, Émile Schoolmeesters, & Édouard Poncelet, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1893), p. 505.

⁵⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert*, vol. 1, p. 506.

of Flanders presented it to him as a reward for his support against her son John. King Louis IX later unilaterally gave the county back to John. There is no direct evidence that Tedaldo and Charles had an early encounter at Hainaut, which could have formed a basis for their relationship in the 1270s, but as one of the main ecclesiastical administrators, Tedaldo would certainly have been aware of Charles.

With the ongoing conflict in Hainaut in mind, Innocent IV would have been wise to find a way to appoint a very capable administrator for the archdeaconate. It was actually typical for an archdeacon to be appointed by the bishop, so the fact that the pope intervened to take control of the appointment shows how serious the situation was, and how great Tedaldo's reputation had become.⁵¹ Innocent appointed Tedaldo on 19 November 1246 as archdeacon of Hainaut, in Liège. The anonymous biographer believed: 'Lest a man with so much eminent merit, pleasing to God, acceptable to men, would lack a title of ecclesiastical dignity, he graciously conferred on him an archdeaconate then vacant in the church of Liège, and he arranged to invest him with it.'⁵² This appointment is a good indication that Tedaldo was gaining recognition for his abilities.

Negotiating Politics and Personalities: The Archdeacon of Liège

Being an archdeacon of Liège was a great administrative responsibility, but in itself, it did not give Tedaldo the credentials he would need to be a contender for the papal throne. The important contributing factor to being archdeacon of Liège was the position it gave Tedaldo relative to forthcoming events in Europe, and the powerful people with whom it put him into contact, as this section will demonstrate. The history of the prince-bishopric of Liège

⁵¹ *Reg. Innocent IV*, vol. 1, p. 334. On the election of archdeacons generally, see: Alain Marchandisse, *La fonction épiscopale à Liège aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: étude de politologie historique* (Geneva, 1998), p. 313.

⁵² The anonymous biographer noted that it was James of Palestrina who gave Tedaldo this position, but as noted above, this was not the case. *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343. See Appendix A, 1:52.

is worth telling in its own right, but for the sake of brevity, a short overview must suffice. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Liège was connected to the imperial church.⁵³ The emperors of the period thought that they could extend their influence by giving bishops and abbots vast territories to rule both as spiritual and temporal lords. The election of the prince-bishop was influenced by the emperor, but by the time of Otto IV and Frederick II, the policy of intruding on the election of the prince-bishop was abandoned, and the cathedral chapter came progressively to have much more control over elections.⁵⁴ The cathedral chapter did not maintain its influence for long, however, because Liège was too important a city, and too much of a flashpoint for papal-imperial conflict for the election of its bishop to be ignored by a papacy seeking to extend its influence. Alain Marchandisse made a case for the importance of Liège not only for the history of the Low Countries, but also for ‘the European chessboard.’⁵⁵ He placed the election of a new bishop into the ‘high spheres of international politics.’⁵⁶ The most relevant case in point was the election of Henry of Guelders on 26 September 1247 – not long after Tedaldo had been made an archdeacon there.

The election of Henry of Guelders came shortly after the First Council of Lyons. After Frederick II’s deposition and excommunication at the council, a succession of new kings of the Romans were crowned by Innocent IV, in opposition to Frederick and his son Conrad IV. The first was Henry Raspe, a former supporter of Frederick II. His tenure did not last long, since he died within a year of his instalment. More important for Liège was the election of William II of Holland as German anti-king in 1247. He would reign until his death in 1256. William II of Holland was the cousin of Henry of Guelders through the marriage of his father, Floris IV, count of Holland, to Matilda of Brabant, sister of Henry’s mother,

⁵³ For more, see: Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale XI^e-XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1981).

⁵⁴ Marchandisse, *Fonction épiscopale*, p. 109.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 214.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 213.

Marguerite of Brabant, who married Gerald IV of Guelders.⁵⁷ Both were daughters of Henry I of Brabant and Matilda of Boulogne. Henry I and Matilda also had a son, Henry II of Brabant, who would be instrumental in helping install William II as anti-king.⁵⁸ To complicate matters still more, Henry II had been married to Marie of Hohenstaufen – daughter of Philip of Swabia, Frederick II's uncle – until her death.⁵⁹ William was also the brother-in-law of the count of Hainaut, John of Avesnes.

Henry of Guelders was elected bishop of Liège and William of Holland was elected anti-king of the Romans, both in 1247. This was not a coincidence. Innocent IV sent cardinal-deacon Pierre Capocci to find a successor both to Henry Raspe and to Robert of Thourotte.⁶⁰ The positions of power were kept within a tight circle of powerful families in the region. Henry of Guelders replaced Robert, whose mother was a Dampierre, sister of William of Dampierre's father (the same William who was the second husband of Margaret of Flanders). Amidst the struggle of the papacy against Frederick II, Henry and William, as well as their relations in power in Brabant, Hainaut, and Flanders, would be able to provide a united front against the deposed emperor in the region. Tedaldo would not, however, have time for too many personal encounters with the new bishop. From about 1248 to 1252 Gatto believed that Tedaldo was at the Paris school, continuing his studies.⁶¹ He was unable to substantiate this assertion, having cited only a document from St Lambert in Liège dated 20 December 1252 to prove that Tedaldo was at Liège at that time, but not that he had been elsewhere before

⁵⁷ After his death, both Richard of Cornwall and King Alfonso X of Castile were elected. The repercussions of this are discussed extensively in chapter five.

⁵⁸ See Appendix B for a family tree.

⁵⁹ John of Hocsem made the proper connection between Henry of Guelders and William of Holland in his *Chronicon*. Hocsem, *Chronique*, p. 5. Unfortunately, the editor of the *Chronicon*, Godefroid Kurth, had mistakenly wedded Henry's brother, Otto II, to his mother, Marie (Marguerite) of Brabant, and placed Henry as their offspring. The mistake likely arose from the fact that Otto II married another Marguerite, in this case, Marguerite of Cleves. *Ibid*, p. 5, n. 2.

⁶⁰ Robert was the man whose election to the prince-bishopric had come in 1240, while James of Palestrina was legate in France. Robert was also one of the bishops to undersign the deposition of Frederick II at the First Council of Lyons. *Les registres de Robert de Thourotte, prince-évêque de Liège*, ed. Émile Schoolmeesters, *Société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège*, vol. 15 (Liège, 1906), p. 68.

⁶¹ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 41.

then.⁶² All that Tedaldo's anonymous biographer gave in support of this notion was that Tedaldo was studying at Paris sometime after having fulfilled his role in the First Council of Lyons, although Gatto quite wrongly cited the anonymous biographer for Tedaldo's time at Paris.⁶³ Placing Tedaldo at the University of Paris around the time that Gatto believed has a lot of appeal; after all, it was at that time that Bonaventure was at Paris, as well as near the time that Thomas Aquinas was there. The notion that Bonaventure suggested Tedaldo for the position of pope is made more plausible if the two had this opportunity to become more familiar with each other. Gatto also asserted without substantiation that Tedaldo met both Peter of Tarentaise (Pope Innocent V) and Guy Foulques (Pope Clement IV) at this time, or at the First Council of Lyons.⁶⁴ His assumption, however, has some merit, given that both Guy and Peter would play a role in Tedaldo's later life. Without this earlier connection, it would be unusual for Clement IV to place so much trust in Tedaldo (as will be shown with the England mission below), and for Tedaldo to place so much trust in Peter by making him a cardinal, and holding the Second Council of Lyons in his archiepiscopal see.⁶⁵ If Tedaldo and Guy were indeed friends, then this friendship would prove its worth the soonest for the archdeacon, when he came to need shelter from his volatile bishop. It was also the repercussions of his bishop's volatility that have come to prove, at last, that Tedaldo was in Paris at the time that Gatto posited, as will be shown below.

It is apparent that Tedaldo's reputation for honesty and sanctity did not make for a good working relationship with Bishop Henry, who had, himself, a reputation for corruption

⁶² The document, which told of the rights that Gerard of Hanzon had ceded to Liège, cited a '*magister Thealdus*,' who was one among four men who were '*archidiaconi*.' *Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert*, vol. 2, p. 31-2.

⁶³ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 344. Perhaps in an attempt to firm up his theory of Tedaldo's time at Paris, Gatto wrote: 'The Anonymous tells us of the period of Tedaldo's Parisian life [...] p. 346 forward.' Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 41, n. 1. There was, in reality, no such mention of Tedaldo's time in Paris beyond that written on p. 344, noted above.

⁶⁴ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 41-2. The *additio* to Ciacconio notes that Peter of Tarentaise taught at Paris for many years. Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 201.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

and immorality.⁶⁶ In a curious omission, Tedaldo's anonymous biographer failed to mention the conflict that arose between Tedaldo and Henry over the role of the archdeacon. The conflict was certainly a central reason for Tedaldo leaving his archdeaconate to join the entourage of Ottobono Fieschi (nephew of Pope Innocent IV, and himself later to become Pope Hadrian V) on his diplomatic mission to England – and this mission played a large role in the anonymous biography. Instead, in the lead-up to Tedaldo's mission to England, the anonymous biographer focused on building up the connection between King Louis IX and Tedaldo, writing:

Also at that time, King Louis of France, most Christian prince, vessel of virtue, mirror of the faith, and fine example of all the good works of the Holy Spirit, was truly esteeming the archdeacon [Tedaldo], and was venerating him, such that many were amazed that this most excellent king would devote so much honour, and would exhibit so much reverence to one clergyman, [who was] not in a position of high standing.⁶⁷

No doubt, it was much more effective to write about the connection between Tedaldo and the praiseworthy crusader Louis in a work devoted to extolling the life of Tedaldo.⁶⁸ The less flattering alternative was to write about the fierce conflict between Tedaldo and Henry of Guelders, which would ultimately be resolved with Pope Gregory X 'requesting' at the Second Council of Lyons that Henry step down from the prince-bishopric of Liège. Indeed, the anonymous biographer had even chosen not to write about what amounted to Gregory X's deposition of Henry later in his history.

The conflict between Tedaldo and Henry started early. In 1250, during the time in which Gatto thought that Tedaldo was at Paris, Innocent IV sent Cardinal Peter of Albano as legate into the region. He was to act as arbiter in Liège, and to outline the regime that should

⁶⁶ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 344. In the *additio* to Ciacconio, Henry was described as a man 'more apt to arms than to the sacred' ('*ad arma vir aptior, quam ad sacra*'), and whose moral turpitude was connected to his power as bishop. Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 185.

⁶⁷ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 344. See Appendix A, 1:67.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

be followed in the operation of the prince-bishopric.⁶⁹ In the only part of the statute drawn up by Peter that discusses the role of the archdeacon, there is no doubt that the matters discussed arose from conflict between Tedaldo and Henry. It was decided that ‘neither in the sanctuary nor the chapter may archdeacons hold an appropriate position of dignity while they have appointed deacons.’⁷⁰ The archdeacon should not try to rule his archdeaconry while he was away. Long absences could be a problem, and the well-travelled Tedaldo was not without blame. Thus, the legate mandated that archdeacons ‘will reside for part of a year in the church, and may swear to this, unless, by chance, they may be absent with liberty from the bishop.’⁷¹ Nevertheless, if the archdeacon had a good reason for his absence, he was not to be blamed: ‘If, indeed, it happens that the archdeacons wish to pilgrimage *or to go to school*, the bishop cannot deny them the liberty’ [my italics].⁷² This was the very time that Tedaldo was at the University of Paris. Since he was at Paris, Tedaldo would not be able to negotiate directly with Henry or Peter. Thus, earlier in 1250, before Peter of Albano drew up his statute, Tedaldo had negotiated with Henry via the intermediary of Godfrey of Guelders, nephew of Henry. The agreement to which they came was then approved by Peter in Liège.⁷³ Tedaldo was within his right to be at school in Paris, as the legate allowed, but Tedaldo’s reputation should not remain quite as spotless as his anonymous biographer and Gatto would have everyone believe. Tedaldo wanted not only to go to school, but to rule his archdeaconate at the same time. Perhaps this was due to Tedaldo wanting to keep pace with the abovementioned difficulties over the succession to the counties of Flanders and Hainaut. Yet, as capable an administrator as Tedaldo may have been, it simply did not make sense to have someone out of physical contact add an extra layer of administration when deacons had been appointed, and the time it took to communicate between Paris and Liège would cause delays.

⁶⁹ For the entire statute drawn up by the legate, see *Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert*, vol. 1, p. 580-92.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 590. See Appendix A, 1:70.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:71.

⁷² *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:72.

⁷³ Renardy, *Maîtres*, p. 449.

With the arbitration of Peter of Albano in November 1250, one might suppose that the conflict was over between Tedaldo and Henry, but in fact it was not. According to the *additio* of Ciacconio, Henry ‘had severely irritated some of the noble sons of Liège, who had hitherto adhered to the Church with great faith. In a public assembly of the canons he was accused of a shameful crime.’⁷⁴ Henry was disgracing his position, and the virtuous Tedaldo, ‘who little feared the present leader, had dared to chastise the vices of the bishop with a grave and fearless speech in the public assembly.’⁷⁵ The *additio* to Ciacconio then reported that Henry was so angry that he actually struck Tedaldo.⁷⁶ John of Hocsem did not go quite so far, and stated only that Henry threatened to strike Tedaldo.⁷⁷ It is unusual that Hocsem would not take the opportunity to impugn Henry as much as possible, since he used the history of Henry and his reign as bishop as a means to criticise his contemporary bishop of Liège. Indeed, Hocsem went so far as to include a fabricated letter written by Pope Gregory X to Henry, accusing him in no uncertain terms of his abuse of power and moral depravity; with this in mind, whether Henry only threatened to strike Tedaldo, or actually did, seems a small matter in which to stretch the truth.⁷⁸ At any rate, this episode once again showed the high moral character that Tedaldo was said to have possessed, and which helped to make him a suitable candidate for the papacy later on in his life.

After Henry threatened to hit Tedaldo, the archdeacon left Liège once again. This was how he came to be found with Pope Clement IV when the mission to England was being organized.⁷⁹ The *additio* to Ciacconio noted that after the last incident with Henry, Tedaldo had given up trying to restrain Henry’s shamelessness, so he left Liège to go on a pilgrimage

⁷⁴ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 185. See Appendix A, 1:74.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:75.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Hocsem, *Chronique*, p. 48.

⁷⁸ For the letter allegedly written by Pope Gregory X to Henry before the Second Council of Lyons, see *Ibid.*, p. 49-58. The letter, which does not appear in the papal registers, was shown to be a fabrication. For this, see: Christine Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège 1140-1350: recherches sur sa composition et ses activités* (Paris, 1979), p. 282-5, and Marchandisse, *Fonction épiscopale*, p. 151 & p. 289-93.

⁷⁹ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

to the Holy Land.⁸⁰ It is worth noting that Tedaldo took up the cross at this time: recall that the cardinal-legate Peter of Albano had stated that freedom for an archdeacon from his charge was permitted in cases where the archdeacon was going to school, or going on a pilgrimage. Ever the stickler for rules, taking up the cross gave Tedaldo the justification he needed to be away from Liège, when perhaps a more immediate reason was simply to escape his bishop! Tedaldo's anonymous biographer, however, simply placed Tedaldo in the right place at the right time, as it were, without explaining his departure from his archdeaconate. To explain his departure would be to mention the conflict with Henry, and this might tarnish the reputation that the anonymous biographer was working so hard to polish. Instead, Tedaldo's anonymous biographer emphasised that Tedaldo took up the cross with King Louis IX, as well as Louis' sons, the king of Navarre, and many barons and knights.⁸¹

In the Heart of High Politics: The England Mission

Before Tedaldo left on his crusade, he assisted Legate Ottobono Fieschi in England. Tedaldo's time there increased his high contacts in Europe, introducing him to the English royal family. To continue avoiding the immediate reason for Tedaldo's departure from Liège, and to continue to polish Tedaldo's reputation, his anonymous biographer wrote of Tedaldo's mission to England: 'Indeed, the archdeacon himself was as a lover of peace and a promoter of concord in so much, that if he hoped he could make calm and peace among the disagreements and discords – not having been invited or even sought – he offered himself voluntarily.'⁸² A man looking to find an avenue of escape might certainly volunteer for a mission across the channel. But more than volunteering, Pope Clement IV had apparently suggested to Fieschi:

⁸⁰ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 185.

⁸¹ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

⁸² *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:82.

That he might keep the archdeacon with him and utilise his counsels [because the archdeacon was] certainly a man of sound counsel, and beloved by King [Henry III], Count [Simon of Montfort], and also the bishops and the barons of England, and by whose words, and the merit of his honesty, inviting his loyalty was not doubtful.⁸³

Tedaldo, whether he was using the mission as a means to escape from Liège or not, was not simply excess baggage in Fieschi's entourage. In fact, Tedaldo's diplomatic experience with James of Palestrina, as well as the contacts that he had made at the First Council of Lyons and as archdeacon of the important centre of Liège, made him anything but superfluous.

England at this time was fraught with internal strife. The history is well-known; for the sake of brevity, only a short overview of the conflict must suffice.⁸⁴ Under the leadership of Simon of Montfort (son of the Simon of Montfort of Albigensian Crusade fame), a powerful faction of English barons sought to devolve power from the king into a small council of barons, which would be periodically assessed by a larger parliament. The *Provisions of Oxford*, to which King Henry III was forced to agree in 1258, was the written culmination of baronial desire to take a strong hand in controlling the operation of the kingdom, and is generally accepted as the first written constitution of England. Henry III was later able to receive a papal bull that freed him from the restrictions of the provisions; civil war ensued. Even at this early stage, Tedaldo was very much party to the conflict. Indeed, Tedaldo acted as a personal messenger of King Henry III to the papacy, and thus was intimately connected with these formative events of his age. There is no indication how this came about, but perhaps because Tedaldo had become close to King Louis IX as this time, he was acting as a messenger for peace between the two kings. In a letter dated 28 December 1259, Henry III wrote to Pope Alexander IV to discuss the peace between himself and King Louis IX, which he said he had publically supported at the feast of the nativity that year in

⁸³ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 1:83.

⁸⁴ For a further explanation, see David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (Oxford, 2003), p. 369-91, and Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307*, 2nd Edition (Oxford, 1962), p. 170-226.

Paris.⁸⁵ He recommended Tedaldo, along with the archbishop of Embrun⁸⁶ and William Bonqueor, as messengers to Alexander IV to prove that he had made the profession at Paris. Thus, Tedaldo must have been at Paris at this time – yet another trip away from his archdeaconate. Again, on 18 January 1260, Henry III wrote to Alexander IV to lament the trouble that his half-brother, Aymer of Valence, bishop-elect of Winchester, was causing him, and to ask for his removal.⁸⁷ He recommended the same three messengers to the pope as proof of his professions. Also mentioned in this letter was the cardinal-deacon of St Adriano, Ottobono Fieschi. Fieschi was noted to have been among the cardinals who met with Henry to draft the letter. It is clear, then, that Fieschi actually knew of Tedaldo even before Pope Clement IV recommended him for the mission to England.

Fieschi's mission to England lasted from 1265 to 1268, but Tedaldo could not have joined the legate's retinue in person until 1267, as Gatto has rightly pointed out.⁸⁸ Since the anonymous biographer wrote that Tedaldo had taken the cross with King Louis IX, he would have been in France on 25 March 1267. When Tedaldo did catch up with Fieschi, he joined Benedict Caetani, the future Pope Boniface VIII, who was part of Fieschi's entourage as well. Tedaldo's anonymous biographer had said that King Henry III's, as well as Simon of Montfort's respect for Tedaldo had made his presence useful for the mission. In fact, Simon of Montfort had already been killed by the time that Fieschi arrived, let alone the tardy Tedaldo.⁸⁹ Since the worst part of the war was already over when the legatine mission arrived, the focus of the mission was on dealing with the disinherited, the remaining rebels in London, the disputes with the Welsh, and the threat of Simon of Montfort's son, yet another

⁸⁵ Reprinted in Gaetano Tononi, *Relazioni di Tedaldo Visconti (Gregorio X) coll'Inghilterra: 1259-1271* (Parma, 1904), p. 13.

⁸⁶ Henry of Susa. He was later the cardinal-bishop of Ostia. He was a cardinal during the election of Tedaldo as pope in 1271, though not one of the six in the subcommittee that made the selection. See Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 179.

⁸⁷ Reprinted in Tononi, *Relazioni di Tedaldo Visconti*, p. 13-14.

⁸⁸ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 44-5.

⁸⁹ Montfort was killed in August 1265, and Fieschi arrived in autumn 1265.

Simon, invading from Normandy. Tedaldo's anonymous biographer again blatantly overinflated the efforts of Tedaldo, when he wrote that the rebellion was ended, and the king liberated, as much by the authority of the legate as the foresight of the archdeacon.⁹⁰ More importantly for Tedaldo's future, however, the mission embarked upon a crusade preaching tour, and guided ecclesiastical reform – two things close to the heart of Tedaldo when he became pope, and which he would place at the forefront of his Second Council of Lyons agenda. Fieschi began preaching the cross in 1267 (the same time that the recently *cruce signatus* Tedaldo arrived), and signed Lords Edward and Edmund, as well as other noblemen of England. The stage was now set for crusade.

Educating a Crusader Pope: The Holy Land Experience

The crusade that Tedaldo Visconti joined was that of King Louis IX – the French king's second. It is noteworthy that this crusade was able to be launched successfully even with the papacy vacant. There is no doubt that this was due to the extraordinary reputation and influence of Louis, and his personal desire to crusade. But most importantly, this crusade shows that it was, in fact, possible to launch a crusade without the presence of a strong pope, indeed, *any* pope. The fact that his crusade did launch would come to be important in later years with the death of Pope Gregory X, and the subsequent failure of his planned crusade, even though he had garnered significant support. In the present case, Louis could not help but recall his disastrous first outing. He had kept up his support of the Holy Land, paying for a permanent garrison of troops at Acre under Geoffrey of Sargines. His failure during his first crusade was a mark on his otherwise outstanding record, and he was hoping to set it right. Although Louis' brother, Charles of Anjou (who by this time had become king of Sicily) and

⁹⁰ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

Lord Edward joined the crusade as well, they did so under Louis' leadership. Tedaldo had taken the cross with Louis, and so was to join him on his crusade. First, however, Tedaldo returned to his archdeaconate, presumably to set his affairs in order before his crusade.

It was perhaps a very fortunate decision for Tedaldo to brave the return to Liège, even if it did mean that he would have to see Bishop Henry once again. With this delay, King Louis left for his crusade without the accompaniment of Tedaldo. This may have saved Tedaldo from sickness or even death, since Louis' crusade took him to Tunis, where disease claimed the life of the king, and many other crusaders as well. Tunis was not, of course, the usual destination for a crusade. The *Life of Saint Louis*, by Guillaume de Nangis, tells of the king hearing that the emir was open to conversion to Christianity.⁹¹ There were also rumours that the change from the usual crusading direction came about because Charles of Anjou, now king of Sicily, was looking to find a way to turn the crusade to his own benefit. Charles was an ambitious man, and eager to expand his influence beyond Sicily. Tunis, however, would have been a detour for Charles, who was intensely focused on Byzantium at this time, before Louis distracted him with a new crusade. Whoever convinced Louis to go to Tunis, in the end, Charles and Genoa did very well out of it. They each received a portion of the money that the emir of Tunis agreed to give in tribute when the short-lived crusade ended.⁹² Some of this money also went to the king of France, and it was later used for the crusade.⁹³

In the event, Tedaldo heard of the death of King Louis before he had been able to set out to join him. There has been some confusion over the time that Tedaldo actually set out to the Holy Land. Gatto wrote that both the annals of Genoa and the *Eracles* continuation of William of Tyre placed Tedaldo in the Holy Land even before the arrival of Lord Edward.⁹⁴ In fact, the annals of Genoa made no direct mention of Tedaldo leaving for the Holy Land

⁹¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Daunou & Naudet, *RHGF*, vol. 20 (Paris, 1840), p. 447. Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 195.

⁹² [*Annales Ianuenses*], p. 268.

⁹³ See for example: *RGX*, n. 808 (*RV29A*, f. 162v-163r).

⁹⁴ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 48.

where Gatto indicated, and only wrote of him by name when he learned that he had become pope.⁹⁵ The *Eracles*, however, placed Tedaldo in the Holy Land at the same time as Lord Edward, and said that they were on pilgrimage together.⁹⁶ While Gatto did misinterpret those sources, nevertheless, he quite rightly pointed out on this issue that Tedaldo must have heard of Louis' death before his departure (Louis having died in August 1270), and he could not have arrived at Acre before Lord Edward, since there is evidence that Tedaldo was still at Liège as late as 8 March 1271.⁹⁷ Following the anonymous biographer's account, Tedaldo reached Brindisi and readied himself to depart. While there, he heard of the death of King Louis. Although the death affected him profoundly, he set sail for Acre to complete his vow, where he met up with Lord Edward and his sister Beatrice, who had already arrived in Acre.⁹⁸ It is this last chronology which seems most likely.

Very little is known about Tedaldo's time in the Holy Land. One thing, however, is certain: he held no official position of authority on his crusade, although according to a single chronicle 'he was a chaplain in the passage.'⁹⁹ If this were actually the case, he was serving as such without being ordained, since the same chronicle went on to state that Tedaldo was ordained in March 1272.¹⁰⁰ Throop went further and posited that Tedaldo was papal legate in Acre, but based this on the rather tenuous notion that Tedaldo must have been 'something more than an archdeacon' to have William of Tripoli's *De Statu Saracenorum* dedicated to him. He also based this on the evidence of Marco Polo, but admitted even then that there was

⁹⁵ Gatto indicated pages 550-1 of Muratori's edition, but Tedaldo is first mentioned on page 553. *Annales Genuenses ab Anno MC. ad Annum usque MCCXCIII. e Manuscriptis Codicibus: Caffari Ejusque Continuatorum*, RIS, vol. 6 (Milan, 1725). Throughout this thesis, the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is cited.

⁹⁶ *Eracles*, p. 449.

⁹⁷ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 47-8. The letter of 8 March 1271 is the last that recorded Tedaldo as archdeacon of Liège. Renardy had taken this as the end date of Tedaldo's tenure as archdeacon, but there is no indication that he officially relinquished his position while he was to be in the Holy Land. Renardy, *Maîtres*, p. 448.

⁹⁸ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

⁹⁹ 'Ipse in eodem transitu extitit capellanus.' *Annales Pruveningenses*, MGH, *Scriptorum*, vol. 17 (Hannover, 1861), p. 608.

¹⁰⁰ *Annales Pruveningenses*, p. 608.

no confirmation to support Polo's assertion that Tedaldo was papal legate in Syria.¹⁰¹ Laurent, Geanakoplos, and Langlois also have wrongly named Tedaldo as legate.¹⁰² In fact, there was actually no pope alive at the time to make him legate. Nor was Tedaldo the patriarch of Jerusalem, as Dunbabin and Tyerman made him.¹⁰³ And finally, he was not the archbishop of Liège, as Runciman and Barber made him.¹⁰⁴ He was still just an archdeacon. The *additio* to Ciacconio was the most vociferous in denying that Tedaldo was a legate, having written that the idea of Tedaldo being a legate contradicted 'Piacentine history, pontifical diaries, all ancient accounts, and writers everywhere, nay more, the sequence of history itself.'¹⁰⁵ The confusion around the patriarchate likely stemmed from the striking similarities in the backgrounds of Tedaldo and one of his predecessors as pope, James Pantaléon (Urban IV). He, like Tedaldo, had been an archdeacon of Liège. James had also spent time in the Holy Land when he was made patriarch of Jerusalem. As Pope Urban IV, he called Charles of Anjou into Sicily to fight against one of the heirs of Frederick II, Manfred – the consequences of which would resonate into Tedaldo's tenure as pope. Given the similarities between the two popes, it is likely that historians have confused Tedaldo with James Pantaléon when they placed him in the lofty position of patriarch of Jerusalem.

While in the Holy Land, it is clear that Tedaldo met the Dominican William of Tripoli.¹⁰⁶ He also met the Polos, but the main source of evidence for this is the *Il Milione* of

¹⁰¹ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 117.

¹⁰² Laurent also incorrectly put Tedaldo's date of arrival in the Holy Land at 1269. Vitalien Laurent, 'La croisade et la questionne d'Orient sous le pontificat de Grégoire X (1272-1276),' *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 22 (1945), p. 105. Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 238. Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris, 1887), p. 63.

¹⁰³ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 96 & 136. Jean Dunbabin, *The French in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1266-1305* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 150. Christopher Tyerman correctly named Tedaldo as archdeacon in *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), p. 129. In his more recent survey, however, he named him patriarch of Jerusalem: Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 812-3.

¹⁰⁴ Runciman, *History*, p. 338. Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 170.

¹⁰⁵ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 185. See Appendix A, 1:105. The thirteenth-century chronicler Ricordano Malespini wrongly wrote that he was actually a cardinal and legate: *Istoria Fiorentina, RIS*, vol. 8 (Milan, 1726), p. 1017.

¹⁰⁶ William of Tripoli dedicated his treatise *De Statu Saracenorum* to Tedaldo, archdeacon of Liège. William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 575. It is supposition, but perhaps this connection between Tedaldo and William of Tripoli had already been made earlier, when William was in the West to advise King Louis IX on the problems in the

Marco Polo, which must be looked at with discretion, since it wrongly named Tedaldo as papal legate ‘for the whole kingdom of Egypt’ in 1269.¹⁰⁷ Not only was he never the papal legate, but he was not actually in the Holy Land at that time. Instead, Marco (who was not present for the 1269 events he described) likely confused Tedaldo with William of Agen, who had been made papal legate by Urban IV in 1263, and who died in Acre in 1270, as Gatto rightly pointed out.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Marco did give a useful look at the events in which he did take part – and while Tedaldo was, in fact, in the Holy Land. This was when the Mongols entered into the diplomatic efforts of Tedaldo (not for the last time), and in which William of Tripoli was supposed to have played a central role. The Polos had met with Tedaldo before either they or he had any knowledge that a pope had been elected. As a figure of some prominence, they sought advice from Tedaldo on the mission to the Mongols. Tedaldo bid them well, and wrote them a letter to present to the Great Khan in which he testified that the Polos had honestly sought out the pope to treat for the Mongols, but that there was, in fact, no pope available.¹⁰⁹ The Polos departed, but upon learning of the election of Tedaldo to the papal throne, they returned to get a more definite reply for the Great Khan, though unfortunately the contents of Tedaldo’s letter to the Great Khan are not known. Now, with papal authority, Tedaldo appointed two Dominicans, Nicolas of Vicenza and William of Tripoli to go with the Polos as official representatives of the pope, and they took gifts with them for the Great Khan.¹¹⁰

While *en route* once again to the Great Khan, there was renewed hostility from Sultan Baybars, which so frightened the two Dominicans that they handed over their orders to the

Holy Land in 1264. Pope Urban IV had noted to Louis that William (who had already met the pope) would speak to Louis *viva voce*, thus he must have gone to the French court. Since Tedaldo had been acting as a messenger in France just before this time, and was still in France when he was assigned to the England mission, perhaps he was there at the time William came. It would help to explain Tedaldo and William’s connection in the Holy Land better. *Les registres d’Urban IV (1261-1264)*, ed. Jean Guiraud, vol. 2 (Paris, 1901), n. 473.

¹⁰⁷ Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ed. George B. Parks (New York, 1927), p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ William of Agen was also the patriarch of Jerusalem. Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 51-2.

¹⁰⁹ Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 10-11.

Polos and returned to Acre with the master of the Temple.¹¹¹ His own part in this episode gave Tedaldo perhaps his best look into the current political situation in the Latin East, in which the Mongols were very much a part of the political *milieu*. They had to be taken into consideration. Indeed, while Lord Edward was in the Holy Land, he even treated with the Mongols to try to arrange for joint action against the Mamluks.¹¹² In addition, to develop a better understanding of the situation in the East, Tedaldo had commissioned William of Tripoli to write a report on the Muslims in the Holy Land. The result was William of Tripoli's *De Statu Saracenorum*. These experiences in the Holy Land positioned Tedaldo well for his time as a crusader pope. They were so important to his papacy that this thesis will devote chapter two to a full investigation of the repercussions of Tedaldo's time in the Holy Land.

Conclusion

Before Tedaldo embarked for the West for his papal coronation, he famously quoted Psalm 137: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem to my chief joy.'¹¹³ He would not forget. Indeed, he would devote the rest of his life to the cause of crusading. With Tedaldo's election, there was a pope who could understand the situation in the East, and not from stories, letters, and embassies, but from the danger of a voyage by sea,

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹¹² For the most detailed analysis of this, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, 'Edward of England and Abagha Ilkhan: a Reexamination of a Failed Attempt at Mongol-Frankish Cooperation,' ed. Michael Gervers, & James Powell, *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades* (Syracuse, 2001), 75-82. But also see: Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, 2nd Edition (New Haven & London, 1997), p. 75. Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West 1221-1410* (Harlow, 2005), p. 167.

¹¹³ Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 239. See Appendix A, 1:113. Campi mistakenly labelled this as Psalm 136 in his marginal notes. This can also be found in Marino Sanuto, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conservatione quo et Terrae Sanctae Historia ab Origine & Eiusdem Vicinarumque Provinciarum Geographica Descriptio Continetur*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos, Orientalis Historiae*, vol. 2 (Hanover, 1611), p. 225.

and from the uneasy feeling of living in a land consumed by the seemingly unstoppable victories of the Muslim armies, which will be discussed in chapter two. He took ship on 10 November 1271, and reached Brindisi in early January.¹¹⁴ Charles of Anjou met with him at Benevento, *en route* to Viterbo, where he was to meet with the cardinals. Before he arrived at Viterbo, however, ‘many of the cardinals, who had resisted him, at that very instant came upon him; with the cardinals escorting, he arrived at Viterbo.’¹¹⁵ Tedaldo’s election had made any potential resistance to him fruitless. Moreover, it is clear that Tedaldo’s experiences in the Holy Land, England, Liège, at the First Council of Lyons, and as a companion of James of Palestrina had made him suitable for the job. He had the diplomatic and organisational skills, as well as the understanding of the Holy Land that would be needed to organise a new crusade, which was evidently the desire of the cardinals who elected him. At Viterbo, Tedaldo was vested with the papal mantle and asked where he wished to receive the papal crown.¹¹⁶ He insisted on going to Rome for his coronation, instead of having it done at Viterbo. On 27 March 1272 Tedaldo Visconti – the diplomat, the archdeacon, the crusader – was crowned Pope Gregory X.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ For the departure date, see: *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. Société de l’Orient latin, *Archives de l’Orient latin*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1884), p. 455. The January arrival is one of the few cases in which the anonymous biographer of Tedaldo gave an actual date. *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 346. See Appendix A, 1:115.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ For a detailed description of the coronation, see Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 56-61.

**‘WE SAW WITH OUR EYES AND FELT WITH OUR VERY OWN
HAND’: THE IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING THE
CONDITION OF THE HOLY LAND**

Chapter Two

Introduction

Upon returning to Italy after hearing of his papal election, Gregory immediately set about the task of organising relief for the Holy Land. Whatever the direction of the next crusade, its organisation required that the Franks were well acquainted with the condition of the Holy Land, and of Egypt, so that they could be appropriately prepared. Gregory X and Pope Urban IV stand alone as the only popes to have been to the Holy Land themselves in the time of the Crusades. Urban’s experience as patriarch of Jerusalem had made him, as Jean Richard has pointed out, ‘well informed about the situation in the East.’¹ Both of these popes, not surprisingly, believed that their personal experience in the Holy Land gave them a special interest in it.² This chapter will examine how Gregory used his personal experience in the Holy Land to understand what was needed there, and to encourage crusade participation. He believed that through understanding the desperate situation in the Holy Land, especially from personal experience, people would be more likely to give themselves up once more to the struggle of a new crusade. Thus, Gregory wrote to the English cleric Anthony Bek, who had crusaded with King Edward: ‘truly, you are one who has observed the needs of that land with your very own eyes: on account of that, you ought to support it.’³ Similarly, this chapter will examine the letters sent from the Holy Land to potential crusaders in the West during

¹ Richard, *Crusades*, p. 413.

² Gregory’s thoughts on this will be discussed in detail below. For Urban’s thoughts, see: *Reg. Urb. IV*, n. 468.

³ *RGX*, n. 819 (*RV29A*, f. 167r). See Appendix A, 2:3.

Gregory's reign that gave details on its condition in the hope of eliciting their help. It will also examine the understanding of the conditions in the Holy Land apparent from the advice treatises commissioned by Gregory.

Antony Leopold has written that the example of the barons and clergy of the Holy Land sending Theobald of Champagne advice for his crusade 'seems to be the only record of advice being sent to Europe in this way, and there is no evidence to suggest that crusaders usually took pains to inform themselves of conditions in the East before they left Europe.'⁴ Leopold noted that 'most crusaders took counsel when they arrived in the East, an option not available for the papacy.'⁵ This was, in fact, not the case during Gregory X's time, nor even in the time of Gregory's near-predecessor, Urban IV. To his credit, Leopold did soon mention that Gregory and King Philip sent some men 'to the Holy Land to report on conditions there,' but he was in fact contradicting his earlier statement.⁶ Urban IV had been receiving information from the bishops, military orders, and captains in the Holy Land, which led him to believe, like Gregory, that a 'quick and suitable' remedy had to be found.⁷ The difference between Gregory and Urban was that Gregory was actually interested in putting that 'quick and suitable' remedy for the Holy Land into action through a crusade, while the information that Urban had gathered led him to create a tax to collect money for the Holy Land due to the threat from the Mongols, but not to launch a crusade there in the near future.⁸ Urban was more interested in the kingdom of Sicily, as well as in Constantinople (which had just been retaken by Michael Palaeologus before Urban became pope).⁹ Moreover, the clergy had resisted even Urban's economic measure, 'pointing out that the Holy Land was covered by

⁴ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Reg. Urb. IV*, n. 473. See also *Ibid.*, n. 344.

⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 473.

⁹ Richard, *Crusades*, p. 413.

the truce concluded with the Saracens.’¹⁰ The rupture of the truce with the Mamluks in 1263 and Baybars’ impressive gains removed this excuse, and Urban IV was convinced that the one-hundredth that had been set aside for the threat by the Mongols to the Holy Land could now be used for the Mamluk threat.¹¹ It was, however, Urban’s successor Pope Clement IV that called for a crusade to the Holy Land, which was later (as is well-known) taken over by St Louis.

The notion that truces in the Holy Land had an effect on the launching of a crusade will also be examined in this chapter as part of the conditions in the Holy Land. Linda Ross has discussed how truces affected the timing of crusades in her thorough treatment of relations between the Latin East and western Europe.¹² She went so far as to argue that Pope Innocent III had a policy of only summoning crusades to the Holy Land when they coincided with the expiry of a truce.¹³ In addition, she argued that Pope Gregory IX’s crusade call *Rachel suum videns* in 1234 was in anticipation of the expiry of a truce, though this was still five years away, in 1239. As proof, she cited the presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem and Antioch at the conference in Rieti, and the reference made in the bull to the end of the truce.¹⁴ Innocent III, in fact, had even encouraged King John of Brienne in 1212 to make a treaty with Sultan al-Adil while the pope himself was busy organising a new crusade, which was supposed to launch in 1217, when the treaty would expire.¹⁵ Ludovico Gatto has argued that Gregory X ‘was convinced that despite the ceasefire in place between Baybars and the Christians of Syria, to save the Holy Land it was necessary to take up arms as soon as he had arranged matters in Europe.’¹⁶ Building on this point, this chapter will argue that truces were treated differently, and in a more nuanced way, in Gregory X’s time. Unlike the clergy in

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

¹² Ross, *Relations*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64 & 227.

¹⁵ James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 19.

¹⁶ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 82.

Urban IV's time, who had used the existence of a truce as an excuse not to lend support to the Holy Land, in Gregory's time, the truce that was recently re-established was actually used as an opportunity to aid the Holy Land and prepare a crusade. Moreover, and crucially, the truce would *not* have had to expire before Gregory would launch his crusade, since the pope and the western crusaders had not signed up to it, and were not bound by it.

The Formation of Peace Treaties in the Holy Land

Convincing Christians and their leaders of the pressing need for a new crusade was not an easy task, seeing that there had been so many peace treaties made recently. With Charles of Anjou negotiating, the remnants of Louis' crusade had made peace with the emir of Tunis, though Edward had continued eastward to fight in the Holy Land. When they had felt threatened, John of Montfort, lord of Tyre, and Bohemond, count of Tripoli and titular prince of Antioch had both sought out truces with Sultan Baybars in 1271, to which the sultan had agreed.¹⁷ Even the Templars and Hospitallers had sought out peace treaties with the sultan to cover Tortosa and Margat.¹⁸ These had been done before Gregory came to the papal throne, but even after he became pope, Gregory did not take on the same role in treaty formation as Innocent III had in his time. In fact, it does not seem like Gregory had any involvement at all in the treaty eventually sealed between Sultan Baybars and King Hugh – but this could have been to his advantage, if it could free his own hands in organising a new crusade. The treaty of ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours between King Hugh of Cyprus and Jerusalem and Sultan Baybars had been agreed to on 21 or 22 April 1272, while

¹⁷ See Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P.M. Holt (London & New York, 1992), p. 206-7. See also Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 154. Quatremère, who edited Makrizi, has dated the treaty with Tyre at 1270, but Makrizi himself wrote that this treaty had happened 'in the meantime,' concurrent with Baybars' failed attack on Cyprus, which happened in 1271. Taki-Eddin-Ahmed Makrizi, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*, trans. M. Quatremère, vol. 1, part 2 (Paris, 1840), p. 88-9.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 146-7.

Edward was still in the Holy Land, but Gregory was already back in Italy. This treaty seemingly included the military orders, since at the time Baybars ‘made the commanders of the Houses swear a separate oath.’¹⁹

There is some indication that a peace treaty had been in the works for some time, although spearheaded not by King Hugh, but by Charles of Anjou. The *Eracles*, Ibn al-Furāt, and the Angevin chancery records all note exchanges of messengers between Charles of Anjou and Baybars.²⁰ Riley-Smith argued that this exchange of embassies was an indication of Charles’ ‘growing interest in the Holy Land.’²¹ That may be the case; however, it should be noted that it is clear from both Ibn al-Furāt and the Angevin chancery records that Baybars initiated the exchange. This was as early as December 1270, no doubt to gather information about the ongoing crusade. Surprisingly, the messengers that Baybars had sent to Sicily left port for their return to Alexandria or even to Acre in April 1271, at about the same time as Edward was heading to Acre. There could be no element of surprise to Edward’s crusade. Baybars, then, was seemingly well-informed of the timing of western troop movements, and the crusaders perhaps even travelled together with his messengers, given the similar timing. Charles’ embassy to Baybars was reported by Ibn al-Furāt to be making ‘intercessions for the inhabitants of Acre.’²² According to the *Eracles* and Marino Sanuto, Charles was trying to make a truce between the Christians and Baybars.²³ Baybars was said to have responded that the Christians were having trouble even taking the fortress of Qaqun (which the crusaders had

¹⁹ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 157-8.

²⁰ *Eracles*, p. 461. *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina*, (hereafter, *RA*) ed. Riccardo Filangieri, 49 vols (Naples, 1950-2006), vol. 6, p. 159, n. 819, p. 165, n. 853, p. 175, n. 911, p. 176, n. 913, p. 217, n. 1162. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 156-7.

²¹ Notes to *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 157 & 243.

²² *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 157. When seemingly discussing this same episode, Makrizi noted that Charles’ messenger was named ‘Roger.’ Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 102. More likely, Makrizi is confusing him with Charles’ *bailli* Roger of San Severino, whom the Sicilian king sent to Acre in 1277. The only other known possibility is that this first ‘Roger’ was Roger Amatoni de Barulo, who had gone to Acre in 1269 with provisions from Charles’ lands in Sicily. The representatives the Charles sent in April 1271 included Peter de Beania and Brother Berengar, as named in the Angevin chancery records. *RA*, vol. 4, p. 90, n. 588; vol. 6, p. 176, n. 913, p. 217, n. 1162.

²³ *Eracles*, p. 461. Marino Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 224.

just besieged without success), so they would not have a chance of taking the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁴ Charles' embassy does not seem to have been the deciding factor in forming the peace treaty, and the truce that was ultimately made did not include Charles. At the least, this episode shows that Christian policy was not cohesive at the time. Charles was trying to form this treaty while Edward himself was beginning his crusade in the Holy Land.

The truce between King Hugh and Sultan Baybars was made under more equal conditions than the truces with Tyre, Tripoli, Tortosa, and Margat. Hugh was actually able to gain some concessions from Baybars, including a grant of Le Saffron, with Scandalion allowed as a condominium.²⁵ In this case, Baybars had 'heard news that the Tartars were moving,' and it must be remembered that Lord Edward's crusade was still in the Holy Land to pose a threat (even if it were a small one).²⁶ Although the Mongols of the Golden Horde were still a threat to the Christians, Edward had been in contact with the forces of the Ilkhan Abagha in the hopes of a joint attack, and they stayed in contact even when Edward returned to the West.²⁷ Baybars was worried about this increasing contact between his enemies.²⁸ Thus, the truce with Hugh at this time was an early indication of Baybars' preoccupation more with the Mongol threat than with the Christians. This was a turning of the tables from the time of Pope Urban IV, when the pope was more concerned about the Mongols than he was about the Mamluks. This is not to say that Baybars did not worry about a new crusade, but in the last several years, his string of conquests had made the Christians much less of a threat. There was, however, a new Mongol attack on Baybars' territory later in November

²⁴ *Eracles*, p. 461.

²⁵ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 157. The annals of Piacenza also noted that Baybars had been given one byzant as part of the treaty that covered the entire Holy Land, but this is not corroborated in any other source. *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 557.

²⁶ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 157.

²⁷ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard, vol. 3 (London, 1890), p. 29. Edward's continuing contact with the Ilkhan will be discussed in more detail in chapter six, but can be found here: *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates ab Ingressu Guilielmi I in Angliam, A.D. 1066 ad Nostra usque Tempora, Habita aut Tractata*, ed. T. Rymer, vol. 1, part 2 (London, 1816), p. 520.

²⁸ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 158.

1272, though Baybars scored a victory against them in the following December.²⁹ Moreover, Baybars' incursion into Armenia in 1275 has been seen by Peter Thorau as a prelude to a campaign against Seljuk-Mongol Anatolia.³⁰ This preliminary campaign took place even though Gregory was planning a crusade, and Baybars had at least in 1272 and 1273 thought that the Christians were planning an attack on Egypt.³¹ By making treaties with the remnants of the Christians in the East, Baybars could turn his mind more fully to the Mongols, with whom no treaty had been made, and who posed a more direct threat to him than a potential crusade from the West.

Linda Ross has pointed out that 'Baybars had heightened the fragmented character of the Christian territories in the East by concluding separate agreements with the Frankish lords.'³² She is right, but whether this was a deliberate policy on the part of Baybars is not easy to tell. Even if Baybars signed a treaty with Hugh, the *de facto* king of Jerusalem, the king did not have the power to enforce it on the military orders, or on the other powerful magnates in the crusader territories. Thus, it may simply have been that Baybars had to sign separate treaties if he wanted all parties to take part, and not that he was doing it actively to fragment Frankish cohesiveness. For Edward's part, the Muslim chronicler Ibn al-Furāt had noted that 'King Edward, who was one of the Frankish kings, [...] was not pleased when peace was made between the sultan and the Franks and he did not become a party to it.'³³ Similarly, the *Eracles* and Marino Sanuto noted that 'the truce was made between the king of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, Hugh of Lusignan, and Sultan Baybars, and in it, the truce had no

²⁹ Thorau, *Lion*, p. 223.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 233.

³¹ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

³² Ross, *Relations*, p. 108.

³³ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

more than the plain of Acre, and the road of Nazareth.³⁴ They set the date at 22 April 1272, a day later than Ibn al-Furāt.³⁵

Only one chronicle, the *Annals of Salzburg*, noted that Edward – and indeed ‘the whole church overseas’ – signed the truce with Baybars.³⁶ This source should not be treated as accurate, since not only did it change the length of the crusade from both the earlier Muslim and Christian sources (adding ten weeks), but more importantly, the actions of both Edward and Gregory prove against it, as will become clear. Edward’s departure from the Holy Land after the truce was formed should also not be taken as an indication that he was party to the truce, since there is evidence that Edward had received advice from the three main military orders that he simply did not have a big enough army to confront Baybars at that time.³⁷ This is corroborated by the annals of Piacenza, which noted that Edward had returned to the West because the power of the sultan was too great.³⁸ The small size of his army would have been made worse after the truce was made, which meant that Hugh’s troops and the military orders could no longer work with it. In addition, his potential Mongols allies had become occupied in internal rivalries.³⁹ Finally, Michael Prestwich has pointed to a 1275 letter from the Hospitaller master, Hugh Revel, as a possible indication that Edward was part of the truce, but Prestwich was right also to point out that ‘the wording [...] is scarcely conclusive.’⁴⁰ In fact, if the ‘vos’ is treated as the object and not the subject, then even this source shows Edward was not the instigator of the truce.⁴¹

³⁴ *Eracles*, p. 462. Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 224. See Appendix A, 2:34.

³⁵ The *Annales* also set the date at 22 April 1272. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 455.

³⁶ *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), p. 799. Bernard Hamilton has also said that Edward negotiated the truce. See *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 276.

³⁷ *Chronicon Menkonis*, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 23 (Hannover, 1874), p. 559.

³⁸ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 557.

³⁹ *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 77.

⁴¹ I have translated the source thus: ‘Furthermore, know this, your praiseworthiness, that of the truce which dispatched you, that which should be maintained still is maintained.’ ‘*Encore sache la vostre lautesce que de cele trive, que vos plot que fust ... [en]core se maintiengt.*’ Charles Kohler, & Charles-Victor Langlois, ed., ‘Lettres inédites concernant les croisades (1275-1307),’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des Chartes*, vol. 52 (1891), p.

The Effect of Peace Treaties on Crusading

It is not likely that Gregory had encouraged Hugh to form a truce with Baybars, although the effect of its formation might not have had a negative effect on his plans for crusade. Instead, it could have given him the time he needed to organise a crusade without having to worry so much about a fresh attack on Acre. It could also have given Gregory the flexibility to launch a crusade before the truce had expired, since neither he nor the leaders of the West were signatories to it. Indeed, there is an earlier example in which the inhabitants of the Holy Land had even encouraged Theobald of Champagne to ignore a truce at the time of his crusade.⁴² More significantly, the truce that Hugh formed in 1272 had been a long time in the making, and there is proof from Ibn al-Furāt that in Hugh's earlier attempt in 1268 to make peace, he had taken into consideration a potential separate policy for western rulers. The 1268 peace treaty, which was not signed, was first supposed to have lasted 'for ten years, unaffected by foreign invasion or the arrival of any king from overseas.'⁴³ Agreement to this was said to have been reached between Baybars and Hugh.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, when Hugh was pressed actually to sign the treaty, he instead requested that Cyprus get a separate deal, and also that 'the peace should last as long as there was no foreign invasion and no king from abroad appeared.'⁴⁵ The treaty was not signed, apparently because King Hugh was afraid of King Charles.⁴⁶ Gabrieli noted on this point that Charles was already starting to assert his rights to the crown of Jerusalem through Maria of Antioch, but it was in fact a bit too early

53. Also found in *Cartulaire general de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, (hereafter, *CG*), ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, vol. 3 (Paris, 1899), p. 330-1, n. 3584. I have here read 'plot' as in 'ploite des besognes,' ('dispatch of business'), and not 'you plotted,' which would not have subject-verb agreement, although as Prestwich has noted, the wording is inconclusive.

⁴² *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, (Oeniponti, 1893), p. 282-3. This is mentioned by Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 11-12.

⁴³ Ibn al-Furāt, as quoted in Francesco Gabrieli, trans. & ed., *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E.J. Costello (London, 1969), p. 314.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Furāt, as quoted in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 313.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 314.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

for Hugh's fear of Charles to stem from a threat to the throne.⁴⁷ Perhaps (although it is speculation), the explanation for this change in Hugh was that he had recently heard that King Louis IX was planning a crusade. Given the maritime position of Charles' kingdom, it is credible to believe that Hugh could have heard this news from the Sicilian king. But more simply, Ibn al-Furāt could have been indulging himself anachronistically by taking into consideration Charles' later claim to the throne.

Proof that Gregory had not been involved in the truce (nor perhaps that he even initially desired it) comes from that fact that, fresh from his election while in Acre, and with the state of the Latin East unavoidably on his mind, Gregory had quickly returned to the West in order to procure more aid for Edward's crusade. In his first surviving letter to Edward after the papal election, and less than a month before the truce was formed, Gregory wrote from the Lateran that he had arrived safely, and was working with his fellow clergymen to send aid to Edward. He asked Edward: 'carrying the yoke of the burden for the love of His name, may you be vigilant and labour with care around the custody and defence of the [Holy] Land.'⁴⁸ Gregory told him that he was trying to convince King Philip of France to send knights and galleys, or at least knights. Failing that, Gregory told Edward that he was still looking for other ways to send aid quickly to the Holy Land.⁴⁹ Gregory wrote the same to Edward's brother Edmund, and to John II of Brittany (who were both crusading with Edward), but apparently not to King Hugh, who was also in Acre at this time. Hugh's name was not mentioned at the end of the letter to Edward, while Edmund and John were listed as having had the same letter sent to them. These were hardly the preparations of a pope planning an imminent truce, or if he knew of the upcoming truce, it is clear that it was not affecting his own plans. Hugh was very likely acting independently at this time when he made peace with the Mamluks. Thus Baybars, probably thinking of the threat of the Mongols combining with

⁴⁷ Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 314, n. 1. This is discussed in detail in chapter four.

⁴⁸ *RGX*, n. 362 (*RV37*, f. 120v-121r). See Appendix A, 2:48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Edward, took up Hugh's offer in order to lessen the threat. At this early stage, it seems that Gregory still held out hope that reinforcements would give Edward's crusade new vigour. At the same time, however, he was aware that Edward's crusade could not, alone, provide the remedy for the Holy Land, thus he told Edward that he was planning a general council to provide for the perpetual aid of the Holy Land.⁵⁰

It was, perhaps, these planned galleys and knights (arriving in the Holy Land near the end of 1272 with Patriarch Thomas), which led the Muslim chronicler Qirtay al-Khaznadārī to report that in late 1271 or early 1272, Baybars had heard of an impending crusade called by the pope, after the Mamluk navy had broken up on the Cypriot coast. This coincided, in fact, with Gregory's papal election and coronation. Qirtay said that Baybars 'was frightened for himself, for Egypt, for Syria and for his armies. He said to himself, "If the Franks come to me by way of Alexandria, Damietta and Acre, I am afraid that the Mongols will attack me from the East. My position will be too weak to deal with these two parties."' ⁵¹ This confirms Baybars' fear of an alliance between the Franks and the Mongols, but Reuven Amitai-Preiss and Robert Irwin have called this crusade apocryphal.⁵² Irwin argued that Qirtay's story could not be believed, because it noted that Baybars sent an envoy to the king of England, who had a brother who was also king. He based his argument on a face-value agreement with Qirtay's chronology. That was a mistake. Nevertheless, he said that if the chronology were right, this king would be Henry III, and his brother Richard (king of the Romans). He also noted that 'there is no record in English sources of a Mamluk embassy to England in the 1270s or at any other time.'⁵³ There is also no record of the gifts of an elephant and giraffe, which Qirtay had

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ As quoted in Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 102. For the original source, see: Qirtay al-'Izzī al-Khaznadārī, *Ta'rikh al-nawādir mim mā jāra li'l-awā'il wa'l-wākhir*, MS (Gotha, 1655), fol. 96a-98a.

⁵² Reuven Amitai-Preiss, 'Mamluk Perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish Rapprochement,' *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 7 (1992), p. 63-4, and Robert Irwin, 'The Image of the Byzantine and the Frank in Arab Popular Literature of the Late Middle Ages,' ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, & David Jacoby, *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London & Totowa, 1989), p. 239-40.

⁵³ Irwin, 'Image of the Byzantine,' p. 239-40.

recounted. Also, it must be noted that Gregory died several years later, in January 1276, not in 1272 or 1273 as would have been the case with a tight adherence to Qirtay's chronology. Even so, Irwin and Amitai-Preiss failed to mention the fact that at the very time that Baybars is reputed by Qirtay to 'have won over [Edward's] friendship,' and prevented his participation in the new crusade, he actually tried to have him assassinated.⁵⁴ It would actually have strengthened their case for Qirtay's inaccuracy.

Nevertheless, Irwin and Amitai-Preiss could be wrong altogether, not least in Irwin's decision to agree with Qirtay's chronology. Irwin argued that one should conclude that 'this amateur historian [Qirtay], whether panicking at his ignorance or faintly bored, settled down to tell lies at this point in his chronicle.'⁵⁵ Irwin could simply have misinterpreted the source. The king and his brother, who was also a king, could just as easily have been Edward and Edmund, who were both in the Holy Land at this time. It was not uncommon for a high-ranking nobleman to be called a king.⁵⁶ This would explain the absence of records of the embassy in England, although would not, admittedly, explain why Qirtay had said that the envoy was sent to England. Nevertheless, Qirtay could still have been 'settling down to tell lies' to a certain extent, since the 'embassy' sent to Edward at this time which can be corroborated in the *Eracles*, *Gestes des Chiprois*, and Ibn al-Furāt, actually took the form of an assassination attempt. It is conjectural, but perhaps upon seeing the unflattering representation of the Muslim leader in the assassination attempt (and a failed attempt, at that), Qirtay decided to put the embassy in a better and more benevolent light. Be that as it may, what is more certain is that even though Gregory did not issue a new crusade call around the time of his election (other than the call to the general council), the arrival of a sizeable contingent of reinforcements from the West could certainly appear to Baybars as the

⁵⁴ Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 102. The assassination attempt is discussed below.

⁵⁵ Irwin, 'Image of the Byzantine,' p. 240.

⁵⁶ For example, Ibn al-Furāt had called Edward a king before he had been crowned, and had called Louis IX's son John Tristan a king as well. See: *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 140 & 159.

harbinger of a new crusade. After all, Ibn al-Furāt had also reported that in 1272 or 1273 ‘news kept coming in that the Franks were intending to attack the frontiers of Egypt.’⁵⁷ If, before he left Acre, Gregory had already told Edward that he would send additional reinforcements to him (as seems reasonable), then it is not surprising that Edward expressed his anger at Hugh for making peace with Baybars so soon. He and Gregory still wanted to carry out the crusade.

Edward was not part of the peace treaty, and was perhaps still prepared to cause trouble for Baybars with the arrival of Gregory’s reinforcements. If Qirtay were, in fact, right, then Baybars knew all of this, and wanted to do away with the threat that Edward would have posed by allying with the Mongols. This would give a reasonable explanation for Baybars’ attempted assassination of Edward after the peace treaty had already been signed with Hugh. Ibn al-Furāt gave no indication that Baybars had any qualms about making this assassination attempt, although earlier Baybars had expressed embarrassment about the disguising of the ships he had sent against Cyprus as Frankish vessels (an expression that only occurred after they had broken up on the shore).⁵⁸ According to Ibn al-Furāt, Baybars had the governor of Ramla, Ibn Shāwar, feign defection to Edward. In late May or June 1272, Ibn Shāwar was able to send men to Edward, one of whom had the opportunity to be alone with Edward. He ‘leaped at him and struck him in five places.’⁵⁹ Edward survived the wounds, perhaps with the aid of an antidote from the Hospitallers, and the assassin was killed.⁶⁰ In Christian sources, the *Gestes des Chiprois* discussed the assassination attempt at greater length than the *Eracles*. The *Gestes*, however, had not made any mention of the peace treaty that Hugh had made with Baybars, but noted that Hugh had come from Cyprus to Acre and had done honour to Edward. The two men, along with the Templars and Hospitallers, had then made joint

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 159.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 152-3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 159.

⁶⁰ On the antidote from the Hospitallers, see: *Chronicon Hanoniense Quod Dicitur Balduini Avennensis, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 25 (Hannover, 1880), p. 464.

military action against Baybars. More importantly, the *Gestes* noted that the assassin was a Muslim who came to be baptized, and had been serving Edward as a spy, giving him information about ‘the Saracens to find out where one might do them harm.’⁶¹ This is further proof that Edward was still looking to act against Baybars, regardless of the truce which King Hugh had made with the sultan.

Understandably, Hugh’s truce must have mattered even less to Edward and his men after the assassination attempt, and ‘the western Franks rode out and killed a small number of Muslims.’⁶² That even the Muslim source noted that they were *western* Franks proves that the crusaders were not then working as closely with the eastern Franks, though Edward and Hugh had been working together before the truce. The attack on Edward in territory included in the truce is further evidence that he and the western Franks were not party to the treaty, or that Baybars looked on the truce flexibly. Perhaps he simply disregarded it in this case because he had the power to do so. The eastern Franks had feared the breaching of truces before, and Ross has noted that ‘the infringement of truces and periodic raids by the Muslims [had] inspired a number of pleas to western Europe for military support.’⁶³ In the current case, this almost instant infringement was likely to have fuelled fears that Baybars would not leave Acre secure if he suddenly decided to launch an attack. This was all the more reason for reinforcements to be sent.

Edward was not the only one not to feel bound by the truce. A group of Marseillais sailors ‘who formed one of the armies of the Franks’ seized a ship carrying envoys from Khan Mengu-Temur of the Golden Horde, as well as an interpreter that Baybars had sent to him.⁶⁴ Riley-Smith, in his notes to Lyons’ edition of Ibn al-Furāt, noted that these Marseillais

⁶¹ *Gestes*, p. 779, and ‘*Templar*,’ p. 68. The *Eracles* noted this assassination attempt occurred on 18 June, but did not dwell on it. *Eracles*, p. 462. A testament that Edward drew up in this month can be found in *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 495.

⁶² Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

⁶³ Ross, *Relations*, p. 65.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 158.

could have been merchants in Acre, or they could have been ‘a force from Marseilles serving in the East, perhaps on behalf of Charles of Anjou.’⁶⁵ Alternatively, though this is conjecture, they could be something of a response to the patriarch of Jerusalem’s request of Charles in 1267 to keep six galleys around Syria for privateering against Egypt and ensuring Latin sea mastery.⁶⁶ Showing Baybars’ fear of Frankish alliance with the Ilkhanate Mongols, Ibn al-Furāt reported that Baybars feared ‘that the Franks would use these men in order to ingratiate themselves’ with Ilkhan Abagha.⁶⁷ Baybars asked for their return, and only his interpreter was released. Crucially, the Franks ‘excused themselves from freeing the rest by saying that they [the captured Mongols] were not the Sultan’s subjects; they had not been captured in the lands covered by the peace, and they had been taken by the servants of King Charles.’⁶⁸

At one and the same time, the Marseillais formed an objection based both on a recognition of the peace that Hugh had formed with Baybars (and the territorial limitations of it), as well as an assertion that King Charles and his subjects were not bound by it. The implications of this are considerable. If kings such as Edward and Charles (whom Gregory hoped would form a large part of his new crusade) did not consider themselves bound by the peace treaty formed between King Hugh and Sultan Baybars, then a new crusade would not have to wait for the treaty to expire, which would not have been until around 3 or 4 March 1283. It is thus clear that truce making was not centralized in this time either in the person of the king, or the pope. In addition, it is clear that a truce made by the apparent king of Jerusalem did not necessarily bind western crusaders (nor, for that matter, the military orders or the other leading nobles of the Frankish East, who were making treaties of their own). At the same time, the territorial designations on the truce (which only included the plain of Acre and the road to Nazareth), meant that a crusade to Egypt, or indeed, to one of

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 158 & 243.

⁶⁶ Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983), p. 527.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 158.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

the other diminished Latin territories in the Levant, could still be possible. Indeed, even a crusade around the lands of Acre could still be possible, if the truce were simply ignored by the West when it suited them, or if the 1268 stipulation between King Hugh and Baybars about separate treatment for foreign crusaders had also been included in the 1272 truce.

Gregory's Use of His Personal Experience in the Holy Land

The fractured state of truce making in this time, along with an apparent disregard on the part of Edward and Charles for Hugh's truce with Baybars, enabled Gregory to plan his new crusade with a certain flexibility. The plain of Acre and the road to Nazareth would still theoretically be safe while Gregory could send smaller detachments of reinforcements leading up to his *passagium generale*. Convincing the powers of western Christendom to send those troops, and deciding how they were to be used, however, would require an intimate and accurate knowledge of the condition of the Holy Land. That knowledge also had to be kept up-to-date at a time when the conditions were changing rapidly. Gregory was acutely aware of this. In the first couple of years of Gregory's papal tenure, he made clear reference to how his own time spent in the Holy Land had given him valuable insight into its condition, and into what was needed for it. Gregory's belief in the effect that personal experience in the Holy Land had is made clear in several letters, not least his 31 March 1272 bull to call the general council, *Salvator noster in*.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ There are six extant versions of this bull. One was directed to the archbishop and province of Sens on 31 March. *RGX*, n. 160 (*RV37*, f. 51r-52r). Another was directed to Thomas, newly-elected patriarch of Jerusalem, and his region of authority. This was sent to him on 1 April, well before he left for the Holy Land. *RGX*, n. 366 (*RV37*, f. 122v-123v). There is also one to the archbishop and province of Tours, sent on 31 March. *RGX*, n. 657 (*RV29A*, f. 211r-212r). The two extant copies sent to the king of France on 31 March, should be read as identical to the above, though the copyist gave a shorthand version in the papal register. *RGX*, n. 161 (*RV37*, f. 52r-52v). *RGX*, n. 658 (*RV29A*, f. 212r-212v). The copy sent to King Henry III is likewise the same. *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 493-4. It is reasonable to assume that everyone received the same version.

In *Salvator noster in*, which was issued generally, Gregory pointed out that ‘knowing the harm itself’ of lax morals, the schism with the Greeks, and the trouble in the Holy Land, ‘and prudently dreading it, may raise the remedy of cooperation for men to good effect.’⁷⁰ This statement might not seem of much consequence, until it is placed among the myriad other examples where Gregory noted that personal experience and knowledge would have an effect on action, especially as it related to the condition of the Holy Land. Indeed, in the same bull, Gregory told his fellow clergy members that he grieved and suffered bitterly ‘because, as it were, we not only heard in Outremer, but we saw with our eyes, and our hands felt – oh the anguish! – more detestable than usual, the name of Christ is blasphemed among the people.’⁷¹ Gregory’s repeated reference to ‘seeing with his eyes’ and ‘feeling with his hands’ is probably written in reference to Isaiah, chapter 59. This chapter begins with what would have been familiar to crusaders after the Second Crusade: the theme of *peccatis exigentibus*. It reads: ‘Behold, the Lord’s hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear: But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear.’⁷² Taking up this theme, Gregory has more directly responded to verses nine and ten: ‘Therefore is judgment far from us, neither doth justice overtake us: we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes: we stumble at noon day as in the night; we are in desolate places as dead men.’⁷³ Gregory’s insistence that he had indeed ‘seen’ and ‘felt’ what was going on in the Holy Land was probably meant to indicate that he had overcome the problems discussed in Isaiah. Had he not been to the Holy Land himself, it is difficult to see how he could have made such a statement seem credible.

⁷⁰ *RGX*, n. 160 (*RV37*, f. 51r-52r). See Appendix A, 2:70.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:71.

⁷² *King James Bible*, Isaiah 59:1-2. For the *Vulgate Bible* version, see Appendix A, 2:72.

⁷³ *King James Bible*, Isaiah 59:9-10. The similarities are even more striking in the Latin *Vulgate Bible* version. See Appendix A, 2:73.

Even before he issued *Salvator noster in*, Gregory had been writing to the king of France and others along the same lines, with the goal of eliciting aid for the Holy Land. Gregory had been chosen by the College of Cardinals as a compromise candidate, and particularly as one whose experience in the Holy Land could aid the crusade.⁷⁴ To this end, Gregory used these credentials in his letters to request help for the Holy Land. He opened a letter to the Templars and Hospitallers of France on 4 March 1272 with some of the same words that he later included in his council invitation: ‘horrible and intolerable oppressions of the Holy Land, which once we saw with bodily eyes and we felt with our very own hand in a minor office of appointment.’⁷⁵ Gregory’s oft-cited reference to seeing with his eyes and feeling with his hands must have had an effect, because Marino Sanuto quoted Gregory on this point in 1321.⁷⁶ After Gregory’s credentials had been proven, as it were, he continued his letter by requesting that the military orders give him a loan if King Philip failed to do so. Through this organisation, Gregory was turning himself to the ‘handling’ or management (*manutenendam*) of the Holy Land.⁷⁷ To reinforce the knowledge gained from his experience, he told Philip that he had discussed the management of the Holy Land ‘face-to-face with the leaders of the Christian army, and also with the Templars and Hospitallers, and other magnates of those places when [he was] there.’⁷⁸

Gregory must have heard of the rebuilding of Baybars’ fleet after its destruction in Cyprus, since he told Philip that with the advice he had received, he had decided that a contingent of galleys, as well as knights, would be needed immediately, while further preparations were made at a general council for more substantial aid.⁷⁹ Given Ibn al-Furāt’s indication that Charles of Anjou’s messengers had been startled to see shipbuilding just

⁷⁴ Raynaldus, *Annales*, p. 183.

⁷⁵ *RGX*, n. 159 (*RV37*, f. 51r), also *RGX*, n. 348 (*RV37*, f. 116v-117r). See Appendix A, 2:75.

⁷⁶ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 225.

⁷⁷ *RGX*, n. 343 (*RV37*, f. 115r-115v).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:78.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

outside of Cairo when they came to treat with Baybars, it seems likely that this information was generally known among the crusaders.⁸⁰ Gregory showed that he was aware of, and responsive to, recent developments. He was also aware of the need to maintain naval mastery. He used this information to try to convince Philip, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Marseillais to send galleys not simply for transport, but for maritime defence in the Holy Land.⁸¹ Ultimately, there is only an indication that Charles did this, and even in this case it is only certain that Charles agreed to supply transport ships for the new patriarch and his mercenaries, not patrol vessels.⁸²

It may also have been the rebuilding of Baybars' fleet (along with, of course, his string of recent conquests), which led Gregory to tell the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Langres that he sensed that the Holy Land 'is more and more exposed to the cost of desolation by the increasing treachery of the enemy.'⁸³ Gregory also wrote on this day to his old friend Count Philip of Savoy, with whom he had served when Philip had been archbishop of Lyons at the time of the First Council of Lyons.⁸⁴ He told all of them that he had sent the archbishop of Carinthia to King Philip, and he asked them to trust the archbishop, and to aid him. There is no doubt that Gregory singled these men out because of the service he believed they could render him and the crusade. The archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Langres had both taken the cross with St Louis and accompanied him on his Tunis crusade, thus they had personal experience in crusading.⁸⁵ In fact, the archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, had been one of the executors of a codicil which Louis wrote while *en route* to Tunis.⁸⁶ The

⁸⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 156-7.

⁸¹ *RGX*, n. 343 (*RV37*, f. 115r-115v).

⁸² *Ibid.* *RGX*, n. 356-9 (*RV37*, f. 119r-119v). *RGX*, n. 800 (*RV29A*, f. 161r-161v).

⁸³ *RGX*, n. 345 & 346 (*RV37*, f. 116r-116v). See Appendix A, 2:83. This was written at the same time as the above letters to King Philip and the military orders. Gregory also wrote to the dowager queen of France, mentioning his experience in the Holy Land, and asking her to encourage her son to aid the Holy Land. *RGX*, n. 344 (*RV37*, f. 115v-116r).

⁸⁴ Gregory noted how he worked with Philip of Savoy long ago, here: *RGX*, n. 347 (*RV37*, f. 116v).

⁸⁵ René Herval, *Histoire de Rouen*, vol. 1 (Rouen, 1947), p. 88. Abbé Mathieu, *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire des évêques de Langres*, 2nd Edition (Langres, 1844), p. 115.

⁸⁶ It provided for his younger sons, and gave directions for acquitting his debts. Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 555-6.

bishop of Langres, Guy of Geneva, was later solicited by the king of France in 1272 to send him a military contingent, to which the king later gave exemption.⁸⁷ It is unclear why King Philip needed this, but possibly it was because Gregory had requested in his letter to Guy that he help in the business that the archbishop of Carinthia was undertaking with the king of France. That business was the Holy Land. Perhaps Guy had been asked for this contingent by Philip in order to send it to the Holy Land. When Gregory turned down Philip's offer in the same year to lead a crusade to the Holy Land right away, the contingent would no longer have been needed. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

Additional Sources of Information on the Condition of the Holy Land

The letters in which Gregory made reference to his own experience in the Holy Land ended at the time of the Second Council of Lyons, though he did include his oft-repeated reference to his experience in the Holy Land in his council crusading decree, *Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*.⁸⁸ As the time passed from his return to the West, Gregory must have been aware that the changing nature of condition in the Holy Land was making his own experience there obsolete. To remedy this, Gregory sought information from elsewhere. The best sources of information on the condition of the Holy Land that would have been available to him came from a variety of sources. First was the return of Edward from his crusade, and his audience with Gregory in April 1273.⁸⁹ This was quickly followed by a late-1273 exploratory mission

⁸⁷ Mathieu, *Abrégé chronologique de Langres*, p. 116.

⁸⁸ Pope Gregory X, 'The Decrees of the Second Council of Lyons on the Crusade, 1274,' *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580*, trans. Norman Housley (Houndmills & London, 1996), p. 16. Pope Gregory X, 'Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei,' ed. Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244-1291* (Leiden, 1975), p. 196.

⁸⁹ Gregory described what was discussed at this audience to King Philip: *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v). The meeting between Gregory and Edward was also noted in: *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 557; *Annales Urbevetani*, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 19 (Hannover, 1866), p. 270; *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 29.

to the Holy Land by messengers from King Philip.⁹⁰ After this, there were delegations from the Holy Land at the general council in 1274, of which our records are limited to the boastful recountings of King James of Aragon, who was present at the council.⁹¹ Gregory had also commissioned advice treatises on the crusade (as well as on the schism with the Greeks and the reform of morals) which were to be ready for the general council. Of these, four are extant: the *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae* perhaps written by Gilbert of Tournay, the memoir of Bruno of Olomouc, the *Opusculum Tripartitum* by Humbert of Romans, and the *De Statu Saracenorum* by William of Tripoli.⁹² It is true that Palmer Throop has given these a detailed examination, but this was in the context of his search for criticism of the crusade.⁹³ This chapter, on the contrary, will examine these treatises for the information that they provide on the condition of the Holy Land. With this accomplished, the degree to which Gregory followed their advice, and the reasons for his actions will become clear in subsequent chapters. Unfortunately, the *Collectio* has nothing to offer on the condition of the Holy Land. Bruno of Olomouc gives some insight on the perception of the Mongols in eastern Europe, but like the *Collectio*, his work is not very useful for understanding the condition of the Holy Land.⁹⁴ Humbert of Romans and William of Tripoli, however, give crucial insight into how much the Christians in Gregory's time remembered the experience of past crusaders, with William giving particular insight into the current condition of the Holy Land. Finally, Gregory was also planning to discuss the general passage with Michael

⁹⁰ RGX, n. 336-337 (RV37, f. 113r-113v).

⁹¹ James of Aragon, *The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan 'Llibre dels Fets'*, trans. Damian Smith & Helena Buffery (Aldershot, 2003), p. 358-68.

⁹² *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae*, ed. P. Autbertus Stroick, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, vol. 24 (Florence, 1931), 33-62. Bruno of Olomouc, 'Relatio de Statu Ecclesiae in Regno Alemanniae,' *MGH, Legum Sectio IV: Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, vol. 3 (Hannover, 1904-6), 589-594. Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, 185-229. William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, 575-598.

⁹³ Throop, *Criticism*.

⁹⁴ In what was likely the personal interest of promoting crusade in eastern Europe for his king, Ottokar of Bohemia, Bruno had pointed out that any gains from a crusade to the Holy Land might be offset by losses in eastern Europe, which he said was threatened by the Mongols. Bruno of Olomouc, 'Relatio,' p. 591.

Palaeologus in 1276 before the pope's premature death prevented it, but Gregory still had obtained information on conditions in Turkey from Michael's messengers in late 1275.⁹⁵

The result of Gregory and Edward's audience in April 1273 confirmed what the pope already knew: ships were desperately needed in the Holy Land. The Christians had to maintain what was in fact the only advantage that they had remaining, which was naval superiority. Edward reported 'that a crisis remains to threaten Christianity concerning the [Holy Land], unless something, especially ships, were quickly being sent to aid.'⁹⁶ Edward had derived this information 'from the council of the inhabitants.'⁹⁷ As noted above, Gregory had probably heard of Baybars' shipbuilding through Charles of Anjou, but it seems hard to believe that the merchants of Genoa, Marseilles, and Venice would not also have had some indication of Baybars' strengthening, especially of the Egyptian port cities which they would have frequented.⁹⁸ The Venetians had even been to Alexandria while Edward was crusading. Presumably they had been there for trade, since Edward had been indignant towards them for it.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, even the letters in which Gregory asked the naval powers for ships to aid the Holy Land gave no indication he was seeking information about the state of affairs in Egypt or the Holy Land.¹⁰⁰ They could not but have known, however, that in 1272 Baybars had strengthened the fortifications of Alexandria with 100 mangonels on its walls in anticipation of an attack there.¹⁰¹ The evidence would have been as plain as the eye could see. The reasons for this apparent mistake on Gregory's part may be explained by letters simply

⁹⁵ Ciro Giannelli, trans., 'Le récit d'une mission diplomatique de Georges le Métochite (1275-1276) et le Vat. Gr. 1716,' ed. Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, *Le Bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps*, [Studi e Testi, 129] (Vatican, 1947), p. 436-9.

⁹⁶ *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v). See Appendix A, 2:96.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:97.

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 156-7.

⁹⁹ Andrea Dandolo, *Chronicon*, *RIS*, vol. 12 (Milan, 1728), p. 380.

¹⁰⁰ *RGX*, n. 356-9 (*RV37*, f. 119r-119v).

¹⁰¹ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

not having survived, but perhaps the maritime powers would have been unwilling to divulge this kind of information, for fear of upsetting their lucrative trade with Egypt.¹⁰²

With Edward's recent arrival with news from the Holy Land, it is unclear why there was a need to send another survey mission to the Holy Land so soon. Yet, King Philip had decided by August 1273 to send 'suitable men having experience of arms' to the Holy Land to determine its condition.¹⁰³ Gregory was pleased that Philip was doing this, but there is no indication that it was at the pope's request. The rapid sequence of these events, however, underscores the perceived need to be kept updated constantly on the condition of the Holy Land. It is unfortunate that the identity of these messengers, and any report that they might have made, is not known for certain, although perhaps they were Gilles of Santi and Peter of Amiens, who went to the Holy Land for Philip shortly after the letter had been written.¹⁰⁴ It would have made sense for the messengers to return before the general council assembled, which was to plan for the crusade to the Holy Land. Yet, the only messengers from the Holy Land for whom there is evidence at the general council are the archbishop of Tyre, the bishop of Paphos, John of Grailly, William of Corceles (a Hospitaller), James Vidal, and Enguerrand of Jorri – all messengers for King Hugh.¹⁰⁵ Erard of Valery acted as King Philip's representative at the council, but he had not gone to the Holy Land at the time in question.¹⁰⁶

Marino Sanuto noted that 'messengers took part in that council for the princes, and other inhabitants of the Holy Land, explaining with careful reasoning the condition and business of the said land.'¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the only information that remains about their

¹⁰² The maritime powers' trade with Egypt will be discussed in chapter six.

¹⁰³ '*Viros ydoneos experientiam armorum habentes.*' *RGX*, n. 336 (*RV37*, f. 113r).

¹⁰⁴ *Eracles*, p. 464.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* Riley-Smith noted that the *Eracles* named the bishop of 'Jaffe,' but that since there was no such bishop, this should probably read 'Baffe.' Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), p. 307, n. 186.

¹⁰⁶ Tyerman has argued (without showing evidence) that Erard of Valery had accompanied Lord Edward of England on his crusade, but this does not seem to be true. Richard's biography of St Louis noted that 'the little army of Edward of England [was] joined not even by such French barons as wished to accomplish their vows.' Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 574. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 125.

¹⁰⁷ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 225. See Appendix A, 2:107.

crusade advice given at the general council is what the colourful King James of Aragon included in his autobiography. In this case, James only mentioned the advice that came from the Templars, who were not representing King Hugh at the council, since they had sided with Maria of Antioch in the struggle for the crown of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁸ This was in addition to what James mentioned of the advice of Erard of Valery, who was coming from the king of France, not the Holy Land. The Templars could have been acting for some of the other ‘princes’ and inhabitants of the Holy Land that Sanuto mentioned, but there were also several other people from the Holy Land at the council who could have offered advice, though none of it is extant. Of course it is well-known that Maria of Antioch was present at the council, though she was there to make her claim to the throne, not to give advice on what was needed for the Holy Land. The others were the aforementioned messengers from King Hugh, including the archbishop of Tyre. The archbishop of Tyre probably gave his own advice at the council, since Gregory wrote to King Edward that he was sending the archbishop to him about this, and other things. Gregory told him that the archbishop was ‘one of the messengers from the inhabitants of that land recently sent.’ He asked that Edward would ‘indulgently hear these things, which [the archbishop] has considered putting forth to the advantage of the same land.’¹⁰⁹ The archbishop of Tyre had been one of Gregory’s trusted contacts in the Holy Land before the arrival of the higher-ranking patriarch of Jerusalem. In the patriarch’s absence, Gregory had directed the archbishop of Tyre (along with the bishop of Tortosa) to receive some money that had been willed to the Holy Land by the bishop of Albano.¹¹⁰ He also directed the maritime powers to coordinate with the same archbishop (or the military orders, or captain of the pilgrims) if the patriarch of Jerusalem died.¹¹¹ Gregory probably considered

¹⁰⁸ This is discussed in chapter four.

¹⁰⁹ *RGX*, n. 820 (*RV29A*, f. 167r-167v). See Appendix A, 2:109.

¹¹⁰ *RGX*, n. 363 (*RV37*, f. 121r-121v)

¹¹¹ *RGX*, n. 799 (*RV29A*, f. 160v-161r).

the archbishop to be an important source of information. It is unfortunate that none of his advice remains.

The information that remains from the general council about the condition of the Holy Land is given, as it were, third-hand from the mouth of the new Templar master, William of Beaujeu, through King James' autobiography. Although the evidence is not direct, it at least confirmed what was already known. William is said to have told the council that help was needed in the Holy Land 'of every kind – arms, provisions, and still more, of troops, for there were not any there. And also people, as there were not so many there as were needed.'¹¹² There was, of course, nothing surprising about this. And indeed, since William had not recently been in the Holy Land, he was probably only reiterating what was already well-known, or what he had been told from those who had, in fact, recently come from the Holy Land. William was perhaps aware of the shortcomings of his knowledge on the matter, and had actually tried to defer to an elderly Templar also present at the council, John of Carcella. But John is said to have declined to speak, in favour of the new master of the order.¹¹³ More usefully, William responded to Gregory's inquiry on the condition of Baybars' navy. Gregory was clearly still concerned that naval superiority could become a problem, given Baybars' recent attempts on Cyprus, and his apparent shipbuilding efforts. William is said to have replied, 'I have heard that [Baybars] was trying to arm his vessels and wished to besiege Acre, and he could not arm more than 17 vessels, among galleys and other craft.'¹¹⁴ Again, William showed his lack of personal experience in acknowledging that he only 'heard' of what he told. But Gregory's reply that Christendom would need as many ships, or more, indicates a strong naval contingent to his planned crusade efforts at this time.¹¹⁵ James' reply that they really only needed ten ships to take on an Egyptian navy twice its size is boastful,

¹¹² James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 364.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

but also contains some grain of truth.¹¹⁶ Although Gregory was concerned about the Egyptian naval build-up, the Christians were still the better seamen – at least for the time. The disastrous Egyptian expedition to Cyprus goes some way to underscoring that, and it is reinforced by Humbert of Romans, who wrote that Muslim sea power was nothing compared to that of the Christians.¹¹⁷

Also at the time of the general council, Gregory received advice treatises on the crusade. Humbert of Romans and William of Tripoli give the best insight into what was known about the experience of past crusaders, though on these points their ‘advice’ treatises read more as simple histories rather than an explanation of what to do, or not to do, based on past crusades. William of Tripoli is an especially important source for the condition of the Holy Land, but he has been underutilised for this kind of information. William lived in the Holy Land and had knowledge of the relative strength of the Christians and Muslims. He pointed out that the power of Baybars was so great that the sultan would easily be able to take Sidon, Beirut, Jubail,¹¹⁸ Tortosa, and Margat. William said that if Baybars pressed hard, he might even be able to take Tyre and Tripoli, but the sultan was holding back because ‘he says that he does not want to overthrow the Christians, however much he is able, although they may deserve it.’¹¹⁹ But Baybars’ true desire was said to be the capture of Acre.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, William gave no indication of how easy this might be, but given its absence from the list, it was probably seen to be more secure than Tyre and Tripoli. No doubt the recent peace treaty for Acre added to this sense of security there; however, William indicated the opinion of ‘several’ that Baybars was only pretending to be friendly with the Christians so that he could capture Acre later.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 204.

¹¹⁸ Also known as Byblos or Gibelet.

¹¹⁹ William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 588. See Appendix A, 2:119.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 588-9.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

William's depiction of Baybars' great power stands in contrast to his assertion in the same treatise that the sultan had attempted to assassinate Lord Edward because he could not overcome him by arms.¹²² Obviously, this contradiction was simply a matter of William overinflating Edward's power, since other Christian sources, as noted, pointed to the insufficiency of Edward's army. But even though William depicted Baybars as very powerful – as courageous as Julius Caesar, but as hateful as Nero – he still named Saladin as the most powerful sultan that there had been, since it was noted that he had taken all the Christian lands that had been acquired since the time of Godfrey of Bouillon except Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch.¹²³ Humbert of Romans, too, pointed out that it was under Saladin especially (but also 'other Muslims afterwards') that the land the Christians had gained from the time of Godfrey of Bouillon was seized.¹²⁴ Humbert's work did not specifically discuss Baybars at all, and thus is not as useful as William of Tripoli for information on the actual condition of the Holy Land in the 1270s, though it still provides useful information on the memory of the crusades.

Besides King Louis IX, Godfrey and Saladin were the most widely mentioned figures from the crusading period in both William and Humbert's works. The authors did, however, demonstrate some grasp of the rest of the crusading period, but not in a way that would have given advice on how to carry out the crusade. Both William and Humbert pointed to the examples of Charlemagne and Charles Martel fighting against the Muslims.¹²⁵ As a date for the beginning of the current 'business,' Humbert noted the work of Pope Alexander II against the Muslims in Iberia in the eleventh century, and then (out of chronological order) Pope Leo IV's work in Italy, which had been in the ninth century.¹²⁶ He also drew attention to the

¹²² *Ibid*, p. 587.

¹²³ On Saladin's conquests, see *Ibid*, p. 583 & 586. On the comparison of Baybars to Caesar and Nero, see *Ibid*, p. 587.

¹²⁴ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 195.

¹²⁵ William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 584-5. Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 192-3, 200, 203-4.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 202-3.

success of Peter the Hermit in rousing crusading enthusiasm along with Pope Urban II as a way of shaming contemporary Christians for their relative inaction.¹²⁷ For the time between the First Crusade and the Third Crusade, however, no mention was made in either of the treatises. Thus, no lessons seem to have been drawn from the failure of the Second Crusade. It is clear, however, that the drowning death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was still remembered. Humbert pointed to it not as an example of the emperor's unfamiliarity with conditions in the East, but rather as an example that the crusade might not be the will of God (which he later refuted).¹²⁸ Humbert was also able to point out Pope Gregory VIII's call to crusade after the fall of Jerusalem, his quick death and replacement by Pope Clement III, and King Philip II of France and King Richard I of England's successful reconquest of Acre.¹²⁹ Yet no mention was made of the internal struggles between these two kings – though the *Collectio* had noted that contention among princes was widespread without naming an actual time period.¹³⁰ Again, no lessons were drawn about how to carry out the crusade. Humbert seemingly just marked the work of Philip and Richard as a success story, without going into any details.

Besides noting Pope Innocent III's crusade decrees (which were well-known to Gregory X already since he modeled his own on them), the treatises moved forward from the Third Crusade directly to the first crusade of King Louis IX.¹³¹ The fourth and fifth crusades received no mention, and Emperor Frederick II's crusade was not mentioned either, though he was said by William of Tripoli to have been a friend of the Muslims, and perhaps even a Muslim himself.¹³² Thus, no lessons were drawn from the Fifth Crusade's attack on Egypt, nor from Frederick II's negotiations which had successfully returned Jerusalem.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 200.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 197.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 203.

¹³⁰ *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae*, p. 39.

¹³¹ Humbert of Romans briefly mentioned Innocent III: *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 203.

¹³² William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 584-5.

Understandably, more emphasis was placed on the crusades of King Louis IX, since their memory would still have been quite fresh.

William of Tripoli showed knowledge of the course of Louis' first crusade, and detailed knowledge of the course of events which had brought Baybars to power. William had an entire section entitled 'the state of the Saracens after the destruction of Damietta.'¹³³ In what was likely a retelling of very familiar events, William and Humbert both pointed out that Louis and his army had been captured in Egypt.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, neither gave any details on how this came about, or any lessons to draw from it. Instead, William went on to demonstrate the course of succession among the Muslims after that crusade. He wrote that this had led to leadership passing from the Arabs to the Turks, and coming finally to Baybars at the same time that Thomas Agni of Lentini, the new patriarch of Jerusalem, had been bishop of Bethlehem and papal legate.¹³⁵ William used the rise of Baybars as another example of the sultan's treachery. According to William, after the Mamluk victory against the Mongols at Ain Jalut in 1260, Baybars had encouraged Qutuz to attack Acre. When Qutuz hesitated to break faith with the Christians, Baybars murdered him and took power.¹³⁶ Although this particular episode could have served as a warning against trusting Baybars to keep the new truce, William drew no other lessons from Louis' crusade. Humbert pointed out Louis' death on his second crusade, but again it was simple narrative and not instruction.¹³⁷ In sum, it is clear from the advice treatises that although there was some knowledge of past crusades from the very beginning of the movement, one cannot say based on the evidence that these were used to inform the way that the crusade was being prepared in Gregory's time. In terms of the current situation in the Holy Land, the only useful information from extant advice treatises came from William of Tripoli.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 585-6.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 586. Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 197.

¹³⁵ William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 586.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 586.

¹³⁷ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 197.

Finally, closer to the time that Gregory was going to launch his crusade, he was also getting advice from messengers of Michael Palaeologus. One of Michael's messengers, George Metochites, recalled that in autumn 1275 Gregory 'wanted to know what, exactly, was this "Turkey," and he also inquired about the people who were the master of it and the religion they professed. He requested information on the extent and nature of the country that they held.'¹³⁸ Gregory was at this time considering the land passage, which will be discussed in full in chapter six. George replied to Gregory's request:

I thus put into light the extent of the country and the nature of its soil; I pointed out that these regions originally belonged to our empire, and that the Turks have held them to our frustration. I spoke of their impious religion, of the reputation of the great cities that are there and the excellence of their episcopal seats. I cited Greater Caesarea and Iconium.¹³⁹

The interest in the 'nature of the soil,' which could be interpreted as an interest in its climate, may give some indication that Gregory was worried about the effect that this had on crusaders. Humbert of Romans' treatise had briefly mentioned how the unfamiliar climate and food of the East were a detriment to crusaders.¹⁴⁰ Gregory thus seemed to be aware of the dangers posed by a climate to which the western crusaders were not accustomed, and was making further inquiries about it. George Metochites also noted that Gregory and Michael were supposed to meet in Easter 1276 in Brindisi or (if the situation were not secure for Michael to come there) across the short stretch of the Adriatic Sea in Vlorë.¹⁴¹ There Gregory and Michael would have discussed the crusade further.¹⁴² Unfortunately, Gregory died before this could happen.

¹³⁸ Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 436.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

¹⁴⁰ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 193.

¹⁴¹ Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 439.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

Letters from the Holy Land

Although no letters to Gregory from the Holy Land survive, there are several that were written to other leading figures in the West that give information on the condition of the Holy Land. There was word in 1273 from Hugh Revel to Guy Dampierre, count of Flanders. It is safe to assume that his information was also known by Gregory, since it detailed funds sent by him.¹⁴³ It was perhaps this petition which helped lead Guy to take up the cross in late 1276.¹⁴⁴ There are also several extant letters written throughout 1275 that give some of the most detailed first-hand analysis of the condition of the Holy Land from those who knew it best. Thomas, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Balian, the constable of Jerusalem, as well as King Hugh, and the Templar master William of Beaujeu all wrote to King Rudolph from the Holy Land in 1275.¹⁴⁵ There are also two letters which the Hospitaller master Hugh Revel and William of Beaujeu, sent to King Edward.¹⁴⁶

These letters were not sent to Gregory, but it strains credulity to think he did not receive the same information from Patriarch Thomas as was being sent to Rudolph, since Thomas was Gregory's legate in the region. It seems safe, then, to assume that if these letters were written early enough in 1275 for them to reach the West before Gregory's death in early January 1276, then the information which Rudolph was receiving was also known to Gregory, even though no extant letters exist to prove it. The two letters to Edward, however,

¹⁴³ 'Six lettres relatives aux croisades,' ed. Société de l'Orient latin, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1881), p. 391. Also printed in *CG*, vol. 3, p. 291, n. 3507.

¹⁴⁴ *Les registres de Jean XXI (1276-1277)*, ed. E. Cadier (Paris, 1960), n. 27.

¹⁴⁵ For three of the letters to Rudolph, see: *Codex Epistolaris Rudolphi I. Romanorum Regis*, (hereafter *CER*), ed. Martin Gerbert, (St. Blaise, 1772), p. 64-68, n. 4-6. Summaries are also given in *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 364-5, although Röhrich has mistakenly placed letter four (by Gerbert's numbering) in 1276, rather than in 1275. He also mistook Rudolph's cross-taking, placing it in October 1276, rather than in October 1275. For the letter from William, see: Oswald Redlich, ed., *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1894), for which a short summary is given in *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI) Additamentum*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich (Oeniponti, 1904), p. 95.

¹⁴⁶ Both these letters can be found in Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 46-63. Summaries of both have been included in *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 364. The Hospitaller letter can also be found in full in *CG*, vol. 3, p. 330-1, n. 3584.

have been reasonably dated to 30 September and 2 October 1275, by Kohler and Langlois.¹⁴⁷ William of Beaujeu's letter to Rudolph was dated 27 September 1275. Perhaps it is pushing the boundary too far to expect that Gregory would have received the news contained in these letters before his death, especially considering that William of Beaujeu had only recently arrived in Acre and would only have been able to assess the situation at that time. He could not, therefore, have sent Gregory any information earlier than this. Nevertheless, these letters form a part of the information gathering on the condition of the Holy Land which Gregory and the other potential crusaders had been undertaking for several years. It is therefore justifiable to discuss them as part of the long-term and ongoing condition of the Holy Land.

The letters directed to Rudolph from the patriarch, the constable, and the king must be read with an awareness that they were looking for help. As a result, the truth may have been stretched somewhat to make the situation in some ways seem worse than it actually was (although it certainly was bad at any rate). This was the case, for example, in a letter by Patriarch Thomas which was probably written in the first half of 1275, given Baybars' movements. Thomas recounted:

The Egyptian enemy, with his vast army, has very recently left from the borders of Babylon, and advanced up to places nearby to us, and with his usual cunning, is wandering now toward Armenia, now toward Tripoli, and but now around Tyre and Acre, and other places of ours.¹⁴⁸

Muslim evidence, as well as the *Eracles* and *Gestes des Chiprois*, has pointed towards Tripoli and Armenia as Baybars' targets in this time, but Thomas is careful with his language.¹⁴⁹ He wrote only that the enemy was 'around' Acre and Tyre, yet they were moving 'toward' Tripoli and Armenia. Perhaps Thomas hoped to elicit more sympathy by drawing the threat

¹⁴⁷ Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 46-8.

¹⁴⁸ *CER*, p. 65, n. 4. See Appendix A, 2:148.

¹⁴⁹ Baybars' army was said to be moving to Armenian territory in 1275. He also took the Antiochene fortress of Cursat, and was negotiating with Tripoli after the death of Bohemond VI in this year. There is no indication that he was actively threatening Acre or Tyre at this time. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 161-5. *Gestes*, p. 780, and '*Templar*,' p. 70. See also *Eracles*, p. 467.

closer to home, as it were, in Acre and Tyre. To his credit, Thomas admitted to Rudolph that he was ‘ignorant of what a future day may produce, in which of the strongholds of his depravity [Baybars] exerts [his power], or which of the aforesaid things may be about to be discharged.’¹⁵⁰

Narrative sources have confirmed Baybars’ preoccupation in the north. Although he was leaving Acre alone, he was still pushing his conquest in Tripoli, Armenia, and the remnants of the principality of Antioch. This new offensive was likely given impetus by the March 1275 death of Bohemond VI, count of Tripoli and titular prince of Antioch. His death brought the fourteen-year old Bohemond VII to the throne. King Hugh came to try to exercise the regency, but it went instead to Bohemond’s mother Sibylla, with the bishop of Tortosa acting as *bailli*. Bohemond went into Armenia to serve with his uncle, King Leo II.¹⁵¹ At the same time, Baybars sent a letter to the young Bohemond, telling him of the Muslim claim on Latakia. After this, ‘envoys arrived from the king of Acre who was interceding with the sultan for the continuance of the peace.’¹⁵² With his fear of the Mongols, Baybars was probably more interested at the time in Armenia and what was left of the lands around Antioch, so he stood down on the issue, and a peace treaty between him and Tripoli was signed in July 1275.¹⁵³ Peace turned out to be a wise decision for Tripoli at this time, since, in light of the death of the elder Bohemond, factions in the city started fighting against each other. Both the *Eracles* and Marino Sanuto note that in 1275 disputes arose between the ‘Roman’ faction, led by the bishop of Tripoli and the Templars, and the ‘Armenian’ faction, led by young Bohemond’s *bailli*, the bishop of Tortosa. It is outside the scope of this study to discuss it at length, but this dispute arose in part because the sway of the ‘Roman’ faction had

¹⁵⁰ *CER*, p. 65, n. 4. See Appendix A, 2:150.

¹⁵¹ *Eracles*, p. 466. *Gestes*, p. 780. ‘*Templar*,’ p. 69-70.

¹⁵² Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 163.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 165.

been greater before the death of the elder Bohemond. From 1277, this conflict erupted into outright civil war for the county, and ‘wicked things were increased in the land.’¹⁵⁴

The treaty with Tripoli had freed Baybars’ hands even more (if he even needed to be freer), and in the same year, 1275, Baybars ‘ranged about and destroyed things and put everyone he encountered to the sword’ in Armenia.¹⁵⁵ According to the early fourteenth-century chronicle of St Peter of Erfurt, Baybars actually broke a truce with the Armenians when he attacked them, and ‘he did not hold faith to the Armenians, as he promised.’¹⁵⁶ The troubles that Armenia was suffering from did not go unnoticed amid the concurrent troubles of the crusader states. Marino Sanuto wrote that surviving merchants, and other people from Armenia who were able, took ship for Acre to get away from the danger in Armenia.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps it was this influx of people which had prompted Patriarch Thomas to write to King Rudolph asking for aid, specifically bringing to his attention this desolation in Armenia.¹⁵⁸

Baybars would have had to travel past Acre and Tyre on his way up to the northern territories, so it may have appeared to Thomas that he was threatening them. Yet, a September 1275 letter from the Hospitaller master Hugh Revel to King Edward indicated that the truce between Acre and Baybars was still holding at that time, so perhaps the threat was not quite as grave as Thomas made it out to be.¹⁵⁹ Hugh indicated to Edward that the truce was still holding ‘because Baybars held to what he wanted of the truce, and no more than that.’¹⁶⁰ Probably Hugh meant that Baybars was sticking very closely to the wording of the truce, which only protected the territory around Acre, and a path to Nazareth. He thus considered himself free to make incursions into the Christian territories in the north. The

¹⁵⁴ ‘*Multiplicata sunt mala in terra.*’ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226. See also *Eracles*, p. 468-9.

¹⁵⁵ *Gestes*, p. 780. ‘*Templar*,’ p. 70. See also *Eracles*, p. 467.

¹⁵⁶ ‘*Nec Armenis fidem tenuit, quam promisit.*’ *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 30 (Hannover, 1896), p. 411. Thorau noted that the truce had been made in 1268: *Lion*, p. 192-3.

¹⁵⁷ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226.

¹⁵⁸ *CER*, p. 66-7, n. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Kohler & Langlois, ‘*Lettres inédites*,’ p. 53. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 330, n. 3584.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:160.

Christians – or, at least, the Templar master William of Beaujeu – had the impression that Baybars wanted to make those incursions while he still had the opportunity to do so, before the arrival of the Mongols would force him to deal with their evidently greater threat instead.

William of Beaujeu wrote to Edward in October 1275 that Baybars was staying ‘around the borders of Damascus with his vast army, through which the Christians on this side of the sea discern greater dangers ahead to appear for them once more.’¹⁶¹ He must have been there for the whole summer, since Ibn al-Furāt wrote that in June 1275, Baybars had indeed returned to Damascus with his army, but he had then dispersed it ‘in an attempt to keep down costs and prices.’¹⁶² Admittedly, this was not a disbanding of his army, but at the same time he was not ready for immediate action, since ‘one company was stationed at Bāniyās, another in ‘Ajlūn and another in Nawā, and (others) elsewhere, while the emirs remained in attendance on him in Damascus.’¹⁶³ William, however, had feared that:

Although credible rumour grows about the arrival of the Tartars, [...] a greater rumour flourishes about the aforesaid sultan, not that the enemy may desire [the Tartars’] arrival, but that perhaps through preconceived wickedness in the places which have remained, he may inflict some injury on the Christians, especially since at present, greater certainty about their arrival is believed to be held by many people.¹⁶⁴

Baybars, then, was not as active against the Christians in the latter part of 1275 as they feared he would be, likely because he was more concerned about keeping his army prepared for the Mongol threat. He did, however, send some of his emirs in November 1275 to take the patriarchal castle of Cursat, in the former territory of Antioch.¹⁶⁵

The Hospitaller master, Hugh Revel, had likewise written to Edward that he believed that the Mongols were coming. He cited three reasons why this was true: first, Abagha had

¹⁶¹ Kohler & Langlois, ‘Lettres inédites,’ p. 55. See Appendix A, 2:161.

¹⁶² Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 164.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Kohler & Langlois, ‘Lettres inédites,’ p. 55. See Appendix A, 2:164.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 165.

just seen the great khan, Kublai, who had ordered war; two, Baybars had just attacked Armenia (implying that the Mongols had to aid their allies); last, and most importantly, that after ransacking Armenia, Baybars' army had become sick, and a great number of men and animals had died, thus the time was ripe for an attack.¹⁶⁶ Instead of trying to keep costs down at the time as Ibn al-Furāt had said, Baybars was actually licking his wounds and enjoying the gains from his northern conquests and ransackings. His army would have to recover if it were to be ready for the Mongol threat. Had the general passage been able to get off the ground at this time, the crusaders could have used this to their advantage; as it was, Baybars' need to recover his army's strength at least gave the crusader territories a temporary respite. Though William of Beaujeu did not know it, he need not have feared, as James had at the general council, that when Baybars heard of the oncoming crusade, he would make his move before his enemies could muster their forces.¹⁶⁷ In the event, his army's exhaustion and the Mongol threat meant that Baybars did not act.

Baybars' failure to act may also indicate that his intelligence gathering was not as effective at this time as it had been when Louis' and Edward's crusades had been launched. Thus, perhaps Schein's theory that Gregory was trying to keep his crusade plans secret was not only right, but the plan itself seems to have been effective.¹⁶⁸ After the news of an oncoming crusade in 1273, Ibn al-Furāt made no further mention of another one. Given the paucity of reinforcements to the Holy Land between the arrival of Peter of Amiens in early 1274, and the arrival of William of Roussillon in October 1275, there would have been no firm indication of this sort to Baybars of an oncoming crusade at that time.¹⁶⁹ Instead of launching a pre-emptive attack, as the Christians feared, Baybars actually made a new peace

¹⁶⁶ Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 54. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 331, n. 3584.

¹⁶⁷ James had recommended a vanguard force since, in his words, 'if the Moors know that you wished to send forces there, they would look to them, and the Christians would be unable to withstand them.' James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

¹⁶⁸ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁹ The arrival of these forces will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

with the county of Tripoli in July 1275, although at a price that was very favourable to the sultan.¹⁷⁰ Likely, as mentioned, Baybars was interested in the peace in order to do away with any potential alliance with the Mongols, whose arrival was rumoured in this year, and with whom it seems that Baybars was more concerned. The Christians, however, were not only overwhelmed by Baybars' superior power, but, as William's letter to Rudolph indicated a few months later, 'from the desolation of the land by the power of the pagans, and because they are hindered by the atmosphere of the fall of rains, starvation presses the whole land.'¹⁷¹ The Christians were still in no position to fight.

Baybars' inaction in Acre and Tyre would have given the Christians time to make the preparations that they said were needed. The best evidence on what was needed for the Holy Land near the end of Gregory's reign has come from Patriarch Thomas and Balian, constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem. As previously mentioned, it would be almost inconceivable for Gregory not to have been informed by his legate, Thomas, of the same things that were written to Rudolph. From Thomas and Balian's letter to Rudolph, it is clear that the inhabitants of the Holy Land were presented with, first and foremost, a shortage of money. Rudolph was told of 'the extreme poverty of the patriarch of Jerusalem and all the members of a religious order.'¹⁷² A shortage of money would inevitably cause a shortage of a great many other things. Thomas and Balian said that they had a shortage of defenders, as well as of the money necessary to pay wages to those defenders, and for other essentials.¹⁷³ According to Thomas and Balian, 'our safeguarding of the Holy Land would require great fortifications of walls, and plenty of siege engines, watch-towers, galleys, and military

¹⁷⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 165.

¹⁷¹ Redlich, *Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64. See Appendix A, 2:171.

¹⁷² *CER*, p. 67, n. 5. See Appendix A, 2:172.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

equipment.’¹⁷⁴ For the most part, these would be supplies for an army on the defensive, which is not surprising, given the great successes of Baybars.

Intriguingly, Thomas and Balian did not ask Rudolph for more men. If King Hugh’s letter to Rudolph were written at the same time, as appears likely given the similar nature of their letters, then the absence of a request for more men may have been due to the expected general passage. Indeed, King Hugh’s letter to Rudolph enquires eagerly for information on Rudolph’s arrival to the Holy Land.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, William of Beaujeu’s letter to King Edward made no request for more men, only the more vague request that he would ‘lend support with suitable aid.’¹⁷⁶ Since this request came after William strongly lamented that the Templars had never before been poorer, he was likely asking for money.¹⁷⁷ The Templars (and other military orders) had much of the burden of fortification in the Holy Land on their shoulders.

Malcolm Barber has pointed out that ‘during the thirteenth century it became evident that only the military orders had the resources even to maintain existing defences, while local secular lords could not hope to undertake new building on any scale.’¹⁷⁸ However, he also noted that ‘between 1265 and 1271 Baybars had dismantled the whole basis of the Templar establishment in the east, which the Order had so painstakingly and expensively reconstructed since the debacle of 1187-8.’¹⁷⁹ Thus, it is not surprising that William told Edward that ‘the returns to us from overseas are not sufficient for a living, and we are required to make countless expenses in the defense of the Holy Land, and in the fortifications of castles which remain to the Christians on this side of the sea.’¹⁸⁰ To protect himself from any blame, the Templar master wrote:

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:174.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67-8, n. 6.

¹⁷⁶ ‘*De competenti suffragetur subsidio.*’ Kohler & Langlois, ‘Lettres inédites,’ p. 56.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55-6.

¹⁷⁸ Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 160.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Kohler & Langlois, ‘Lettres inédites,’ p. 56. See Appendix A, 2:180.

We fear lest we must fail, and give up the Holy Land to desolation; and therefore in this way we report our worn-out excuse to Your Royal Majesty, so that through it some beneficial remedy may be applied, lest if such an inauspicious failure comes to happen, it cannot be attributed to us in the future.¹⁸¹

The military orders had lost much to Baybars, and had made treaties with him in which part of their revenues would be given over to the sultan.¹⁸²

Conclusion

Contrary to Leopold's assertion that 'there is no evidence to suggest that crusaders usually took pains to inform themselves of conditions in the East before they left Europe,' the information available during Gregory's reign proves that they did, and through a number of different channels.¹⁸³ Throughout his reign, Gregory kept himself steadily updated on the condition of the Holy Land in order to understand its needs in preparation for the crusade. Only once those needs were understood, could they be filled. Gregory's facility for organisation – perhaps gained in part from his time helping to organise the First Council of Lyons, and as an archdeacon of Liège – meant that he undertook his crusade planning with painstaking attention to detail. His crusade was not to be one launched willy-nilly onto the shores of the Holy Land, in the expectation that God would do the rest. Instead, Gregory (and those who considered crusading with him) took time to understand what was happening in the Holy Land, and also what was needed there. As it turned out, almost everything was in short supply, not least money.

The evidence paints a picture of the Christians on the edge of survival, readily taking up peace treaties with Baybars that could prolong their fragile existence. A rapid response

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 2:181.

¹⁸² Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 146-7.

¹⁸³ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 10.

from the West was clearly known to be needed. For his part, Baybars had succeeded in his conquests against the Christians to such an extent that they were (without a major crusade from the West) no longer a real threat to him. He made treaties with the weakened Christians of Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli at this time in order to free himself up for taking action against what it seems he saw as the greater threat, the Mongols (and thus their allies in Armenia and the former Antioch). The only advantage that the Christians still maintained – naval superiority – was still seen by the crusaders as essential to maintain. This was not only for military transport, but very likely also to ensure that food supplies from Sicily could continue to reach the Holy Land, whose inhabitants, as William of Beaujeu pointed out, were starving.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ The transport of food and other supplies will be discussed in chapters three and especially four.

INTERIM CRUSADE PLANNING

Chapter Three

Introduction

Gregory's own experience in the Holy Land, and the information that he gathered about it from others, made him acutely aware of Outremer's needs. Once he was aware of them, the choice remained of what to do. It is clear that Gregory knew that the response to those needs had to be swift, although organising a crusade was not a quick affair. Linda Ross has given a mixed message on how Gregory dealt with his crusade organisation. She rightly argued that Gregory followed the thirteenth century's conciliar approach, but she unfairly added that he did not 'take the initiative and personally launch a crusade.'¹ She noted that the disadvantage to this was that 'the time that elapsed between the summons [to the council] and the assembly inevitably delayed the advent of a new crusade, because, from 1215, encyclicals were drawn up only after conciliar deliberation.'² Later in her work, however, she noted that Gregory 'also organised more immediate, long-term, professional military support.'³ The council was only to arrange for the general passage. Gregory's initial efforts, however, should not be discounted. Indeed, those initial efforts were his way of taking initiative for the crusade, since the smaller troop movements were made directly for the sake of preserving the Holy Land until the general passage. Unlike the case of Louis' second crusade, where a smaller *passagium particulare* that had been planned earlier by Clement IV was abandoned

¹ Ross, *Relations*, p. 237.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

in favour of a *passagium generale* when St Louis took the cross, Gregory X wanted to do both.⁴

On the issue of using smaller armies versus a general passage, Throop has written that ‘the old idea of a crusader fighting for the cross and then returning home had been undermined by the end of the thirteenth century by the many failures of immense and transitory armies in the Holy Land.’⁵ He continued: ‘the *Collectio*, like many others, had lost all confidence in a “general passage.”’⁶ Finally, Throop wrongly believed that ‘the support of a large body of professional soldiers in the Holy Land would mean in effect the disappearance of the crusades entirely.’⁷ On this issue, Gatto has also written:

It is necessary first to object that the stationing of a standing army in the Holy Land was already absurd in that it was an army of volunteers. Since it was difficult to collect a sufficient number of mercenaries for a limited period, it would be impossible to find an adequate number of volunteers willing to stay in the East possibly for life.⁸

Based on this, and the difficulties of financing, Gatto concluded that: ‘in fact, we stand in front of such limited sensitivity to such important issues, to such poor adherence to concrete political reality and even absurd projects, that we can rightly say that the ideal of the Crusades would turn to dusk.’⁹ Both Throop and Gatto have seen what they wanted in order to paint their picture of the end of the Crusades. This chapter will demonstrate that they have both seriously misrepresented the way that the crusade was being planned in Gregory’s time. Gregory had not lost confidence in the general passage at all, and as will be seen in chapter six, he gained significant support across western Europe for the general passage. But Throop was right to point to the repeated failures of general passages in the thirteenth century. This

⁴ On this earlier crusade, see Richard, *Crusades*, p. 420.

⁵ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 101.

⁶ As noted by Throop, the author of the *Collectio*, as well as Humbert of Romans, had recommended using mercenaries. *Ibid.*, p. 100-1 & 198.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*

could not but have had an effect on Gregory, since he had just been a part of Louis IX's second failed general passage. Yet Gregory's solution was not to do away with the general passage in favour of a long-term professional army, but rather to use short-term armies as garrisons in the interim, while a general passage was organised to rescue the Holy Land. This was his dual crusade policy.

Gregory's policy of sending small bands of troops to garrison the Holy Land was not completely new, since it was predated in some respects by the mercenaries which Louis IX kept stationed in the Holy Land.¹⁰ The key difference was that Gregory's contingents were placed on a short-term, interim basis, while those of Louis were long-term. Gregory's use of small bands of garrison troops was the first time the papacy had taken up this policy. This chapter will make it clear that Gregory's key role in this policy underscores the need to place the beginning of his papal reign as the time that crusade planning shifted, and not 1274, as has been popularly endorsed.¹¹ Gregory's policy on mercenaries was not based on the advice of James of Aragon and the Templar master at the general council, as Antony Leopold has suggested, but based on information that Gregory had already gathered during his time in the Holy Land.¹² The dual nature of Gregory's crusading efforts is in need of detailed study, since Gregory's pontificate was at the centre of what can now be seen, with retrospect, as two different periods in crusading. Gregory stands as the last pope to come close to launching a *passagium generale* in the traditional form, while at the same time, he was the first pope to give considerable effort to keeping comparably smaller bands of professional soldiers in the Holy Land on an interim basis. Indeed, in this respect he predates the efforts of the subsequent popes, who mustered these smaller bands of reinforcements, but did not come close to launching a *passagium generale*. For example, after Tripoli fell in 1289, Pope

¹⁰ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50. Riley-Smith & Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, p. 35. Siberry, *Criticism*, p. 1. Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 5.

¹² Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 16.

Nicholas IV sent 20 galleys with some 1,500 soldiers to aid Acre.¹³ At the time, Acre had made a two year truce, and the troops came ‘against the desire of the citizens [of Acre].’¹⁴ Since they broke the truce, causing reprisals, the citizens were probably the wiser in this case. Nicholas IV mentioned this aid in a letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem in language that indicated it was temporary. The troops were ‘equipped for one year.’¹⁵ Building on this interim aid (perhaps on the Gregorian model), Nicholas in the next year had asked King Philip IV of France to go to the Holy Land personally for five years with 500 knights.¹⁶ Nevertheless, no general passage occurred (if one can even call 500 knights a general passage), and when Acre fell in 1291, Nicholas had to send another smaller detachment of 20 galleys to Cyprus.¹⁷

One of Gregory’s earliest letters, which was directed to Lord Edward on 31 March 1272, set the tone for his method of crusade planning.¹⁸ This was a full two years before the Second Council of Lyons. For a papal reign that only lasted about four years, half of that time is a significant amount. In that letter, Gregory wrote that he, along with his brother clergy, was able to provide for the condition of the Holy Land.¹⁹ Gregory told Edward that ‘to this [business of the Holy Land] alone we have turned our devotion with vigilant contemplation, so that the aid of defence and of government would come forth to the land which we have left behind placed in a time of extreme necessity.’²⁰ Setting the stage for his pontificate, Gregory wrote:

¹³ *Gestes*, p. 804-5. ‘Templar,’ p. 121. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 a 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 a 1368*, ed. H. Géraud, vol. 1 (Paris, 1843), p. 274.

¹⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique*, vol. 1, p. 274.

¹⁵ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 544-5, n. 4054.

¹⁶ Bartholomew Cotton, *Historia Anglicana (A.D. 449-1298) necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliae*, ed. Henry Luard (London, 1859), p. 176.

¹⁷ *Gestes*, p. 820. ‘Templar,’ p. 121.

¹⁸ *RGX*, n. 362 (*RV37*, f. 120v).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:19.

²⁰ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:20.

Truly because the full satisfaction of our vows would not be reached unless we managed to serve up counsel concerning the *perpetual aid*²¹ which must be supplied to the [Holy] Land, we have proclaimed, (since otherwise it is not able to come about agreeably), the celebration of a general council at a fixed term, with divine mercy assisting.²²

Gregory engaged both in interim crusade planning (telling Edward that he had ‘immediately’ sent the archbishop of Carinthia to King Philip to seek soldiers and galleys to ‘swiftly’ aid the Holy Land), and in the planning of a *passagium generale* at the general council.²³

The reason behind Gregory’s desire for the interim aid of small bands of professional soldiers leading up to his later *passagium generale* is made clear by Gregory himself in the above letter. Gregory was aware of a lack of leadership and organisation for the crusade in the Holy Land, as well as the dire situation for the Latin Christians there.²⁴ He believed that what little was left for the Christians in the Holy Land would not survive if there were any delay in sending aid, and indeed, that aid must be *perpetual*. It was not enough to have a large crusade, which could make great gains, if the Christian presence in the Holy Land were wiped out before the main body of crusaders even made it there. Thus there had to be a constant supply of resources, both monetary and military. Stressing again the need for quick action, on 4 March 1272, he had told the Templars and Hospitallers in France that he sought ‘the ways and the modes by which one may prevail to help [the Holy Land], since it is feared and, as it were, evidently appears that it has been scarcely able to survive without its condition completely falling into ruin, unless one quickly helps it.’²⁵ Gregory’s target to obtain this aid was first and foremost the king of France. As the son of Gregory’s friend, the crusader king St Louis, this was no surprise.

²¹ In a manner of speaking, the ‘perpetual crusade’ was coined here by Gregory X, not by Throop, as Schein asserted. Schein, *Fideles*, p. 16.

²² *RGX*, n. 362 (*RV37*, f. 120v-121r). See Appendix A, 3:22.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The government of the Holy Land will be discussed in chapter four.

²⁵ *RGX*, n. 159 (*RV37*, f. 51r) & *RGX*, n. 348 (*RV37*, f. 116v-117r). See Appendix A, 3:25.

In sum, this chapter will examine the organisation of interim crusading efforts during Gregory's reign, undertaken largely by France and the Church, but with Gregory's overall leadership. This will include an examination of the command structure for the mercenaries serving in the Holy Land, which was based on service not to the permanent government in Outremer, but rather to captains from the West. It will also examine the efforts of the other major powers of western Christendom in order to understand the reasons behind interim crusade participation in this period, which focused mainly on France. This chapter will then discuss the nature of these mercenaries garrisoning the Holy Land; in other words, were these actually 'crusading' efforts at all? In the sense that they were meant to aid an eventual crusade, they were; however, it must be kept firmly in mind that these interim efforts were largely based on finding the funding to send paid mercenaries to the Holy Land, and not 'crusaders' in the strictest sense. Nevertheless, a greater flexibility since the time of Pope Innocent III over who received the crusader's indulgence meant that at least some of the benefits of a crusader were given to these mercenaries, as will be shown. It will then be for chapter six to discuss the other aspect to Gregory's dual crusading plans, namely, the *passagium generale*.

The Question of French or Papal Control of Crusade Planning

This thesis argues that the person who controlled crusade planning was also a key element to its ultimate failure to launch. Gregory's sole control left little room for other efforts, particularly, as will be seen, those of the king of France. Taking control, Gregory wasted no time in seeking to procure aid for the Holy Land upon his return to the West. The embassy of the archbishop of Carinthia to France marked the beginning of Gregory's reliance on the French, first and foremost, for carrying out the interim crusade, though under papal

control. Gregory had told Edward that he would try to find other ways to procure aid for the Holy Land if the king of France responded unfavourably, but it is clear that he still wanted to try to get the French secular arm to take on the burden first of all. The dependence upon France was certainly not a new reality for the crusading movement, as it had been France to whom the papacy had turned from the very beginning at Clermont. In the absence of an emperor with good relations with the papacy in the mid-to-late thirteenth century, it had been Louis IX of France who had spearheaded the crusade. In addition, Gregory himself, even though he was Italian, had long been close to the French royal family, which no doubt aided him in his relations with them as pope. These close relations by no means meant that Gregory was part of the French or Angevin faction that caused problems in papal elections, but Gregory had taken the cross with Louis IX, and had a close association with the French royal family, as discussed in chapter one. This close association likely contributed to Gregory turning to the French most of all.

Even though the French were the traditional targets for the popes' crusading efforts, Philip was a particularly easy one. After his father Louis had died at Tunis, Philip returned to France. Gregory did not hesitate to remind Philip that he had not completed his crusading vow, and the penalty for this was excommunication. But it would be difficult to carry out this threat, if not outright unwise, since Gregory depended upon the French for his crusade. Thus, Gregory was very clear to point out to Philip and his chaplains that he could not be excommunicated, nor his kingdom put under interdict, without express papal approval.²⁶ That approval was never given, but the threat may have provided some leverage to convince Philip to send a fairly regular stream of mercenaries to the Holy Land to make sure that it was kept supplied in the interim, and first to sign for a loan to the papacy for supplies there. In a good indication of how much Gregory believed that speed was of the essence for saving the Holy

²⁶ *RGX*, n. 227 & 228 (*RV37*, f. 79v-80r).

Land, he started soliciting Philip for this loan on 4 March 1272, even before his papal coronation.²⁷ Gregory told Philip that ‘through the said knights, the land itself, placed in the frontiers of the enemy, will be able to be handled in the meantime, and through the galleys, it will be able to be defended by another way, which consists in maritime places.’²⁸ Writing also to the Templars and Hospitallers in France at the same time, Gregory informed them that he had sought a loan of 25,000 marks of silver from King Philip for aid of the Holy Land. He entreated them that if the king did not do what he asked, ‘as the nature of the business and urgent necessity will demand,’ then he would like them to raise the loan, ‘through which, the prompt aid which must be sent can be rendered to the [Holy] Land in soldiers and galleys without the expense of slowness.’²⁹ Even though Gregory wanted to plan a general passage, the language that he presented here shows that he was also fully aware of the necessity for a rapid response to solve the problems of the Holy Land, and he attempted to make the Templars and Hospitallers of France similarly aware. By taking such close control of organisation, Gregory was trying to ensure that quick action was taken. In pursuit of this early aid from Philip, Gregory used his pre-existing contacts by asking the queen of France to help convince Philip to send aid, as well as telling his old friend the count of Savoy, and other notable clergy, that he had sent the archbishop of Carinthia to treat with Philip about this.³⁰

In the event, Philip did provide monetary support to Gregory, and quickly. The speed with which Gregory went about organising aid may indicate that he had actually anticipated a favourable response from Philip, or that he felt assured that he could cover the cost of the loan by other means, such as the Templars and Hospitallers. In either case, it is clear that fast action was crucial. Gregory wrote only a few weeks later, on 31 March, to the Genoese, Venetians, and Marseillais (and not to the Pisans, since they were under interdict at the time).

²⁷ *RGX*, n. 343 (*RV37*, f. 115r-115v).

²⁸ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:28.

²⁹ *RGX*, n. 159 (*RV37*, f. 51r) & *RGX*, n. 348 (*RV37*, f. 116v-117r). See Appendix A, 3:29.

³⁰ *RGX*, n. 345-7 & 350 (*RV37*, f. 116r-116v & 117v).

He told them, as he had told Philip, that he had experience in the Holy Land, and that he had spoken with the leaders of the Christian army, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and other (unnamed) magnates about what was needed there. He asked the naval powers to supply three galleys each, ‘to be strengthened as much in arms as in other supplies.’³¹ Even at this early stage, he optimistically told them that King Philip ‘will assent in the assistance of knights.’³² As it happened, it seems that the naval powers did not comply at this time nor any time during Gregory’s reign, based on extant records. It was Charles of Anjou that Gregory thanked for supplying the three galleys that transported the new patriarch to Acre.³³ What is more, contrary to Gregory’s optimism, Philip did not assent in the assistance of knights in 1272. The reason, however, was not because Philip was unwilling to help, but because he wanted to do *more* than Gregory wanted at that time.

There is reasonable evidence that King Philip was ready to go on crusade himself in 1272, or shortly after. The problems that surfaced for Philip later that prevented the crusade had yet to arise, so the conditions were right for him: Prince Fernando of Castile, married to Philip’s sister, was still alive and the heir to Castile; Henry of Navarre and Champagne was still king in Navarre, so there was no succession issue there to poison Philip’s relations with Castile; the Sicilian Vespers that were to lead to war with Aragon had yet to occur too. It was perhaps rumours of Philip’s crusade interest in this time which led Ibn al-Furāt to report that in 1272 or 1273 ‘news kept coming in that the Franks were intending to attack the frontiers of Egypt.’³⁴ The evidence for Philip’s crusade desire comes from a letter from Gregory in 1272. He wrote to Philip concerning the report of the king’s butler John (son of the famous John of Brienne). John had conveyed to Gregory some of Philip’s petitions about carrying out the business of the Holy Land, but Gregory told Philip not to worry that he was not granting

³¹ ‘*Tam in armaturis quam aliis muniri necessariis.*’ *RGX*, n. 356-9 (*RV37*, f. 119r-119v).

³² ‘*Idem rex [...] in subventionem militum acquiescet.*’ *Ibid.*

³³ *RGX*, n. 800 (*RV29A*, f. 161r-161v).

³⁴ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

those petitions for the time being.³⁵ It is likely that this was a reference to Philip's desire to complete his vow and go to the Holy Land, since Gregory assured Philip that he was not giving him permission at the time because 'more usefully, out of this kind of suspension, we seek by various means the ability of strengthening the business of preparing it and the useful execution of it, on par with our desire.'³⁶ Gregory told him that 'with the long preparation of war, one may become accustomed to produce a swift victory.'³⁷ This is the clearest indication that Gregory was from the beginning of his papal reign devoted to a dual crusade plan, in which papal control was clear. He could have assented to Philip's wish and allowed the French king to go the Holy Land with what would undoubtedly have been a reasonably-sized contingent, and so removed the need for interim aid or a general passage in the near future. Instead, Gregory wanted not just the substantial contingent that could be gained from French support at that time, but also that which could be gained from as much of western Europe as possible through a longer preparation period. Thus, although the pope urged Philip to follow in the footsteps of his famous ancestors because the Holy Land required his 'singular protection,' he did not want Philip to go to the Holy Land himself until all the papal preparations had been made.³⁸

It seems that Gregory was discouraging Philip from flying headlong into a business which the young king now hoped to control himself. This would have disrupted Gregory's larger plans, which the pope clearly wanted to see through himself. With Philip leading, there would be a substantial French contingent, but with Gregory leading, there was a chance to get an even larger, pan-western European crusade. Thus, Gregory told Philip:

For, dearest son, it would not become us or our brothers to allow so great a business
(strengthened by everything) to be undertaken less than prudently, nor (as much as it is

³⁵ *RGX*, n. 788 (*RV29A*, f. 157r-157v).

³⁶ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:36.

³⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

in us) undoubtedly would we personally allow you especially to leap forward to such great things particularly in the auspices of your control and youth, in any other way than becomes Your Royal Excellency.³⁹

Now that Philip was actually prepared to complete his vow, Gregory reined him back in. The pope wanted everything in place before the general passage was to set off, though he still encouraged the king to help the Holy Land in the meantime, so that it would be easier for the general passage to succeed.⁴⁰ But more importantly, this shows that even when the French king made an effort to lead – as King Louis his father had done before him – Gregory would not allow absolute control to pass out of his own hands. In this way, the pope was affirming papal control of the crusade. Only with retrospect can one say that, since Gregory died before his general passage began, and then his crusade never came to anything, this strategy may have been the wrong one. If he had allowed King Philip to take more initiative in the planning, or even have shared the burden more evenly, then perhaps a crusade could have launched at this time. But Gregory took his particular course of action because he believed that an even larger crusade, with longer preparation, would have a better chance of success.

Organising the Supply of an Interim Garrison in the Holy Land

With the question of leadership settled, leaving Gregory in charge, the pope set about procuring the interim garrison for the Holy Land. Though Philip did not get his wish to crusade, he did give Gregory the loan that the pope wanted for supplying the Holy Land in the interim. On 21 April 1272, Gregory wrote about it to Philip, telling him that he had already taken a loan of 25,000 marks of silver from merchants from Piacenza, Florence, and

³⁹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:39.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Lucca.⁴¹ He then asked Philip to satisfy these merchants. He sent the abbot of Monte Cassino, Bernard Ayglie, to tell Philip more about the loan.⁴² This rapid response shows that Gregory was wasting no time, which helped him to achieve so much in his relatively short reign as pope. Gregory used this money to fund sending 500 mercenaries to the Holy Land. The *Eracles* is clear to point out that these mercenaries came in the pay of the Church, not Philip, but it seems likely that the original source of the funding was the loan that was secured in Philip's name.⁴³

To pay back this loan, Gregory wanted Philip to give some of the money from the Tunisian Crusade. Thus, Gregory also wrote a joint letter to Erard of Valery, chamberlain of France, Humbert of Beaujeu, constable of France, Theobald Casteignier, and Guiraud of Marbay, to tell them the same, and to ask them to make good on the money from Tunis, which had been assigned to them for safekeeping.⁴⁴ Evidently this was a share that had not gone to King Charles and the Genoese. There is no indication that Gregory asked Charles and the Genoese to give up some of their shares – further evidence of a dependence upon the French king for aid. Although Philip quickly signed for Gregory's loan, it seems that he was not immediately forthcoming with the money from Tunis to repay it. More than a year after he got the loan, Gregory sent his chaplain William of Mâcon to Philip in August 1273 to arrange for further aid for the Holy Land, since the loan had run out. This is confirmed also by a letter from Hugh Revel, master of the Hospitallers, to Guy of Dampierre, count of Flanders. He wrote in May 1273 that 'the money that the lord king of France ordered for the lord pope for the aid of the land is also gone.'⁴⁵ Gregory instructed his chaplain William to investigate the money 'received from the king of Tunis, assigned in aid of the Holy Land by a

⁴¹ The merchants were Bernard Scotus and William of Vetula from Gregory's hometown of Piacenza, and Gerard, from the trading company of Rayner and Richard, of Lucca and Florence. *RGX*, n. 789-91 (*RV29A*, f. 157v-158v). On the loan, see also *RGX*, n. 898.

⁴² *RGX*, n. 792 (*RV29A*, f. 158v).

⁴³ *Eracles*, p. 462.

⁴⁴ *RGX*, n. 793 (*RV29A*, f. 158v-159r).

⁴⁵ 'Six lettres relatives aux croisades,' p. 391. Also printed in *CG*, vol. 3, p. 291, n. 3507. See Appendix A, 3:45.

specified law or rule, and entrusted, it is said, with certain nobles.⁴⁶ These nobles, doubtless those to whom Gregory had already written, had sworn an oath when they were entrusted with this money, but Gregory directed William to do what was necessary, to relax any laws or oaths, so that the money could be sent ahead for the Holy Land.⁴⁷ Gregory wrote again to Erard of Valery and Humbert of Beaujeu at the same time, to ask them to help in this.⁴⁸ Finding money for the crusade was a problem, and this episode no doubt contributed to Gregory's decision at the Second Council of Lyons to institute a six-year tax of one-tenth on the churches.

These requests to Philip for funding show that payment for these professional soldiers (as well as other supplies) required a steady stream of money – money which Gregory could not supply on his own. With the death of King Louis, who had taken a direct hand in paying for his garrison, Gregory had to find a way to get the money to pay his own mercenaries by convincing Philip to provide the funds, or else providing it himself. Keeping with the idea that interim aid needed to be constantly maintained until the general passage, when Gregory sent William to Philip in August, he told the king that unless the aid to the Holy Land were made continuous, or the king came up with another idea, then the expenses that had already been made would be for nothing.⁴⁹ If Philip were to be joining the *passagium generale* when the time came, then it would not make sense to shirk the kind of preparations and safeguards which would make that passage easier. It would certainly be much more difficult to carry out a crusade in the Holy Land if the crusaders had to start again from scratch, with no cities or castles remaining. But large sums of money were involved, and there must have been concern that it was being wasted, since Gregory reassured Philip that he had sent a reliable merchant

⁴⁶ *RGX*, n. 808 (*RV29A*, f. 162v-163r). See Appendix A, 3:46.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *RGX*, n. 806-7 (*RV29A*, f. 162v).

⁴⁹ *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v).

to the Holy Land to take account of expenses.⁵⁰ He then challenged the king to take notice that the loan he had taken out earlier had already been exhausted by the patriarch of Jerusalem. He wrote:

Look! The reckoning of expenses made around the aid of the [Holy Land], which we send to you openly through the aforesaid chaplain, will indicate how much the management of the same (having been useful in the [Holy] Land with the aforementioned patriarch having gone across) has exhausted the said amount, or how much may be left over from that.⁵¹

This confirmed the earlier letter of the Hospitaller master about the drain on funds.

By the time of Gregory's August letter to Philip, the original loan of 25,000 marks would have paid for Patriarch Thomas' autumn 1272 passage and the 500 mercenaries (foot soldiers and horsemen) that went with him, aided by ships from King Charles. It would also have paid for the spring 1273 passage of Oliver of Termes with his contingent, which Gregory had been arranging. The *Eracles* noted that Oliver arrived in April 1273 with 25 horsemen and 100 crossbowmen 'paid for by the king of France.'⁵² The funds that went to Oliver of Termes to pay for his contingent had actually been from the loan that Gregory had secured through Philip, which he hoped to pay back through the money from Tunis.⁵³ According to the records of King Charles, Oliver and his men had gone aboard three galleys and one ship, which had been registered in San Germano on 26 January.⁵⁴ Finally, the loan would also have paid for an unspecified amount of money sometime in 1273 which Gregory, upon request from King Hugh, instructed Patriarch Thomas to give to the seneschal of

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 3:51.

⁵² *Eracles*, p. 463.

⁵³ *RGX*, n. 796 (*RV29A*, f. 159v-160r). Riley-Smith noted that Oliver of Termes was granted money from Gregory which was 'de pecunia Tunicii,' which he assumed 'must have been the unexpended monies raised for the North African crusade.' As noted above, it seems instead that it was the money which the French king had received from the king of Tunis, and which Gregory tried to procure from King Philip to pay off debts for aid of the Holy Land. Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Crown of France and Acre, 1254-1291,' ed. Daniel H. Weiss, Lisa J. Mahoney, & Lisa Cindrich, *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore & London, 2004), p. 52.

⁵⁴ *RA*, vol. 9, p. 44, n. 133.

Jerusalem, John of Grailly.⁵⁵ Given the strain of all these expenses, it seems that Philip must have granted Gregory's wish for more funding. By December 1273, when Gregory wrote to Philip asking him to provide more for the Holy Land (in general terms), he no longer mentioned any loan, or the money from Tunis, but he did tell him he could communicate still through William of Mâcon.⁵⁶

Not long after Oliver's arrival, Philip also decided in August 1273 to send 'suitable men having experience of arms' as messengers to the Holy Land in the next passage to determine the condition of the Holy Land.⁵⁷ When he had heard back from them, he would send soldiers in the next March passage, which would have fallen in 1274.⁵⁸ In the same month, Gregory wrote another letter to Philip without mentioning the soldiers, but instead asking him to send naval aid.⁵⁹ This must have been in response to Edward's recent report that ships were desperately needed in the Holy Land.⁶⁰ The chronicles do not mention an individual naval contingent – or indeed any at all – but it could have been part of the transport that sent Philip's two new waves of reinforcements, which likely included his messengers. These two waves were probably those which the *Eracles* listed as arriving first under Gilles of Santi, and then under Peter of Amiens, paid for by the king of France and the Church.⁶¹ The *Eracles* does not give a specific date, but the first wave with Gilles included 400 crossbowmen, and must have arrived in the latter part of 1273 if the second wave were to come in the March passage. The second wave under Peter came presumably after an initial report had been made, but the *Eracles* only said that this contingent followed the first, and totalled 300 crossbowman.

⁵⁵ A full discussion of John of Grailly follows below.

⁵⁶ Through this letter, we learn that William was a Parisian canon. *RGX*, n. 813 (*RV29A*, f. 164v-165r).

⁵⁷ '*Viros ydoneos experientiam armorum habentes.*' *RGX*, n. 336 (*RV37*, f. 113r).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v). The letter is undated, but must fall around August 1273 (or shortly after), since Edward had clearly returned from the Holy Land and had an audience with Gregory, and William of Mâcon was named as a messenger to Philip, which corresponds with other letters mentioning William in connection to Philip: *RGX*, n. 336-337 (*RV37*, f. 113r-113v).

⁶⁰ *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v).

⁶¹ *Eracles*, p. 464.

It was likely at about the same time that Philip was discussing sending messengers to the Holy Land (August 1273), but at least before the general council, that Gregory wrote to Charles of Anjou that he would also like him ‘to consider how much it may be expedient to hold anxiously, by an armed force, the remnants of the aforesaid land that have remained to Christianity, moving forward towards the prompt recovery of the whole.’⁶² In one of the few cases where Gregory looked to someone other than King Philip for direct aid, he told King Charles ‘that the aforesaid remains cannot be defended, nor be directed to the noble recovery, without the copious provisions which Your Royal Excellency may provide to its defenders.’⁶³ With the exception of Charles’ assistance to Patriarch Thomas on the provision of mercenaries, there is no indication that Charles personally provided any interim troops for the Holy Land at this time, like his nephew the king of France had. But from his position in Sicily, Charles was at the forefront of transporting both those troops and foodstuffs to the Holy Land, as will be discussed in depth in chapter four.

The celebration of the council of Lyons, with its goal of organising a *passagium generale*, by no means meant the end of the supply of mercenaries to the Holy Land in the interim, since the general passage would not have happened immediately after the council. Gregory continued his plan to provide small contingents of troops to the Holy Land leading up the general passage. Unfortunately, there is no indication whether the waves of troops that were sent to the Holy Land were cumulative, or if they served by rotation. At any rate, writing to his legate Simon of Brie⁶⁴ on 1 August 1274, Gregory’s depiction of the situation in the Holy Land makes it clear that even if these troops were cumulative, they were still not enough. Certainly, they could form a garrison for what was left of the Holy Land, but they

⁶² RGX, n. 821 (RV29A, f. 167v). See Appendix A, 3:62. Claverie has also dated this letter at sometime in the summer of 1273, which seems to agree with Gregory’s aforementioned letter to King Philip. See Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L’ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle*, vol. 3 (Nicosia, 2005), p. 568-9, n. 639.

⁶³ RGX, n. 821 (RV29A, f. 167v). See Appendix A, 3:63.

⁶⁴ The future Pope Martin IV (1281-1285).

could not hope to expand the boundaries of the kingdom of Jerusalem to its glory days of the twelfth century. Gregory therefore returned to the theme of immediacy:

Thus, with all the cities and fortifications almost ruined, and nearly all their faithful people slaughtered at the mouth of the sword, with few of the faithful remaining, the one far place of the [Holy] Land, namely the city of Acre, and two others⁶⁵ can scarcely be maintained for the protection of life, with the remnants [of the faithful], in view of their smallness, by no means sufficient to defend the cities, nor in a position to await protracted aid still longer, and indeed they are scarcely allowed the time to take breath.⁶⁶

The day before, Gregory had written to King Philip on the same note, asking him again to provide expenses for the Holy Land, informing him that he would receive the money from the Lyons tenth in France, and urging him to retain Oliver of Termes in the Holy Land.⁶⁷ He asked former crusader Erard of Valery, who had attended the general council as Philip's representative, to insist to the king that he help the Holy Land.⁶⁸

The council had been set for planning the general passage, but for historians, it should only mark that the interim strategy that Gregory had *already* adopted was one that was popularly endorsed by other leading figures.⁶⁹ The sources for this are Humbert of Romans, the *Collectio*, as well as the autobiography of James of Aragon. Humbert noted 'the common opinion of men' that believed that the people in Outremer had to be apt for battle, and that many more fighters (both knights and footmen) had to be sent there. He wrote that there also had to be a continuous army presence in the Holy Land to prevail against the Muslims on every occasion.⁷⁰ This did not rule out a crusade as well, but the *Collectio* actually did go further and endorse using paid soldiers alone. The author of the *Collectio* – who was critical

⁶⁵ Presumably Tyre and Tripoli.

⁶⁶ *RGX*, n. 494 (*RV37*, f. 183v). See Appendix A, 3:66.

⁶⁷ *RGX*, n. 492-3 (*RV37*, f. 183r-183v), duplicated in *RGX*, n. 827-8 (*RV29A*, f. 168v).

⁶⁸ *RGX*, n. 826 (*RV29A*, f. 168v).

⁶⁹ It was not a 'dissenting' voice that called for this new strategy, as it has been called by Asbridge, *Crusades*, p. 649.

⁷⁰ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 205.

of the crusade – wanted the Holy Land to be defended by mercenaries paid through a general collection.⁷¹

In his autobiography, James wrote that Erard of Valery, acting for the king of France, had embarrassingly stayed silent after James' boastful offer of help for the Holy Land.⁷² Erard then said later that 'though many men have gone there over such a long time, they have never been able to take it.'⁷³ Erard was not being cowardly, but rather realistic. He had not given up, since he later took up the cross for Gregory's crusade. But the strategy that Erard believed in was clear: it was the same as that Gregory had already been undertaking toward the general passage. Erard said that he agreed with what the new master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu, suggested: help was needed in 'arms, provisions, and still more, of troops, for there were not any there. And also people, as there were not so many there as were needed. Furthermore, he advised that at that time some 250 to 300 knights were needed, and 500 footmen.'⁷⁴ Schein marked this advice at the general council as the point in which crusade planning changed, but as has been demonstrated, the planning advice that William gave at the general council was what Gregory had been doing from the very beginning of his reign in 1272.⁷⁵ More emphasis should thus be placed on Gregory's own initiative.

After the general council, Gregory's request of the king of France for continued aid likely manifested in the arrival of William of Roussillon. The *Eracles* gave the date of William's arrival as 1275, but this cannot be taken at face value, since it also gave the date of Baybars' death as 1275, and this actually occurred in 1277.⁷⁶ To confuse matters more, the Templar of Tyre gave the date of William's arrival as October 1276, and told of the death of

⁷¹ *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae*, p. 40.

⁷² James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 364.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

⁷⁵ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 50.

⁷⁶ *Eracles*, p. 467.

Gregory after this, but said that it occurred in the same year (Gregory died in January 1276).⁷⁷ Putting these sources together, it seems more likely that William had arrived in October 1275. This is corroborated by the *Annales*, Raynaldus, and Marino Sanuto, which also placed his arrival in 1275.⁷⁸ It also would have roughly coincided with the arrival of the Templar master William of Beaujeu; thus, they could have travelled together.⁷⁹ To have delayed until October 1276 would have meant that the mercenaries in the Holy Land would have been without their captain for two years after the August 1274 death of Oliver of Termes.⁸⁰ Given Gregory's concern for their management which he had shown earlier in letters to Oliver of Termes and Patriarch Thomas, it is unlikely that he would have waited so long to send a replacement.⁸¹ In addition, the *Eracles* and Marino Sanuto noted that William and his contingent (numbering 40 knights, 60 mounted sergeants, and 400 crossbowmen), came 'in the pay of the Church.'⁸² If this had been October 1276, it could perhaps have been more difficult (though not impossible) for the Church to arrange the logistics of this, considering the papal vacancy between the death of Hadrian V on August 18, and the election of John XXI on September 13. On the contrary, the Templar of Tyre wrote that this contingent came 'from the king of France,'⁸³ so Philip could have made the arrangements instead. At any rate, the incongruity of the texts about the source of this contingent was no doubt simply a manifestation of the close cooperation between the Church and the crown of France for the interim garrisoning of the Holy Land, though it is clear that Gregory took overall control of organisation.

⁷⁷ *Gestes*, p. 780. 'Templar,' p. 70.

⁷⁸ *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 456; Raynaldus, *Annales*, p. 247; Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226. Though Sanuto seems to have followed the *Eracles* for much of his information during Gregory's papal reign, nevertheless, unlike the *Eracles*, he got the date of Baybars' death right, in 1277. Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 228.

⁷⁹ *Eracles*, p. 468. Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 55.

⁸⁰ On Oliver's death, see Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226. *Eracles*, p. 467.

⁸¹ *RGX*, n. 802 (RV29A, f. 161v-162r).

⁸² *Eracles*, p. 467. Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226.

⁸³ *Gestes*, p. 780. 'Templar,' p. 70.

The Command Structure of the Interim Garrison

Gregory wrote to King Charles in 1272 to tell him of the loan that Philip had given him. Gregory informed him that the money for the Holy Land was being given to the new patriarch, Thomas Agni of Lentini – an associate of King Charles.⁸⁴ Thomas was given at least some, but perhaps the entire loan that Gregory had secured through Philip, so that he could use it to aid the Holy Land. He was told to consult with Charles about how to spend it before he took ship for his new post.⁸⁵ Thomas had already started to use this money, at least in part, to provide the mercenaries to defend the remaining Christians holdings, because Gregory told Charles that he wanted him to provide supplies to Thomas for his passage to Acre with his escort and mercenaries.⁸⁶ Very quickly, however, Gregory rethought his plan of having Thomas coordinate with Charles to arrange for mercenaries. Perhaps (though it is supposition) this was because he did not want the mercenaries to be too much under the thumb of the king of Sicily, who would later come to assert his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem through Maria of Antioch's claim.⁸⁷ Whatever the other motives, what is clear is that Gregory had been looking for military support primarily from France, which had already formed a strong presence in the Holy Land from King Louis' long-standing garrison. Thus, when Oliver of Termes became available, Gregory turned instead to him, since he was a seasoned crusader and vassal of the French king.

Even before commissioning Thomas and Charles to arrange the mercenaries and supplies, it is clear from Gregory's letter to Oliver that his first preference had been for King Philip himself to send the supplies and soldiers for the Holy Land. He told Oliver about his earlier request to King Philip to rescue the Holy Land, expressing his hope that Philip 'would

⁸⁴ *RGX*, n. 794-5 (*RV29A*, f. 159r-159v).

⁸⁵ *RGX*, n. 794 (*RV29A*, f. 159r).

⁸⁶ *RGX*, n. 795 (*RV29A*, f. 159r-159v).

⁸⁷ Charles role in gaining the kingship of Jerusalem will be discussed in chapter four.

himself support especially the burden of sending the people there and perhaps would remit the concern for us of preparing the aforesaid naval relief,' or 'if the opportunity would not appear to him on account of other occupations, at least he would mark out for us a certain amount of the money of Tunis.'⁸⁸ Gregory told Oliver that Philip had opted for the latter, and sent the money. When Gregory learned in the summer of 1272 that Oliver of Termes had offered himself to go to the Holy Land, Gregory wrote to Thomas and Charles to tell them to stop hiring mercenaries, and out of the ones that they had already hired, if there were any who were not suitable, not to worry if they did not report for duty.⁸⁹ Gregory told Oliver that Thomas and Charles were also to report to the pope on how much money was left over from what they had already spent for mercenaries and supplies. Instead of allowing Thomas and Charles to coordinate, Gregory wanted Oliver of Termes to arrange for his own mercenaries to accompany him with whatever remained of the loan, thus reinforcing French interim involvement.⁹⁰

Oliver of Termes was not part of the permanent leadership in the Latin East. Gregory's relationship with the permanent leadership there (namely, King Hugh) will be discussed in detail in chapter four. Nevertheless, for the interim preparations, it is clear that Gregory was relying on French captains from the West to take command. As noted above, Gregory had written to King Philip to let him know how the money was being used, so Philip must have had some concern about money being wasted. Philip's more direct involvement in supplying the garrison for the Holy Land came when Oliver of Termes arrived, and followed with each successive wave. With his vassal Oliver of Termes in charge of the mercenaries, perhaps Philip had more confidence in the administration, leading him to send more troops there.

⁸⁸ *RGX*, n. 803 (*RV29A*, f. 162r). See Appendix A, 3:88.

⁸⁹ *RGX*, n. 796 (*RV29A*, f. 159v-160r), also *RGX*, n. 798 (*RV29A*, f. 160r-160v).

⁹⁰ *RGX*, n. 796 (*RV29A*, f. 159v-160r).

Gregory wanted Oliver of Termes in the Holy Land to take command of the mercenaries upon his arrival.⁹¹ These men would presumably have been the 500 mercenaries who travelled to the Holy Land with Thomas in October 1272, as long as they were not serving by rotation. But this could also be an indication that there was, in fact, still a French contingent in the Holy Land from what had been steadily supplied by Louis IX, though Riley-Smith believed that the appointment of John of Grailly as seneschal in 1272, with support from Gregory, ‘suggests that the French force had left and that there was a need for alternative provision.’⁹² Similarly, Christopher Marshall wrote that the lack of information on the French force in the period between Louis’ second crusade and the 1272 appearance of John of Grailly may indicate that during this time the force ‘went into temporary abeyance.’⁹³ However, proof that a French contingent might still have been in the Holy Land is supported by the fact that the marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1272 was the Frenchman William of Canet, named by the *Eracles* as the nephew of Oliver of Termes, who likely had been a part of Oliver’s previous trip to the Holy Land.⁹⁴ He was presumably the son of Oliver’s unnamed brother, who had died on crusade in 1269.⁹⁵ The duty of the marshal included the command of mercenaries, but even with his close links to Oliver of Termes, there is no indication that William was given command of the mercenaries that Gregory arranged. If William were one of the nephews of Oliver who had been captured by the sultan’s forces in 1269 and had later died in prison, as the Templar of Tyre reported, then it is little wonder that he could not have commanded the mercenaries.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *RGX*, n. 802 (*RV29A*, f. 161v-162r).

⁹² Riley-Smith, ‘Crown,’ p. 47.

⁹³ Christopher J. Marshall, ‘The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254-91,’ *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), p. 304.

⁹⁴ *Eracles*, p. 463.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 458.

⁹⁶ *Gestes*, p. 768. ‘*Templar*,’ p. 54.

The existing troops in the Holy Land might also have comprised troops left behind by Edward.⁹⁷ Like King Louis IX had done before, Edward was said to have left behind a contingent of soldiers in the Holy Land after he returned to the West. Perhaps this contingent was itself an interim measure, and an indication that Edward intended to return to the Holy Land again, but this cannot be known for certain. Its numbers are also not known, but it likely stayed behind with John of Grailly. Becoming King Hugh's seneschal in 1272, the Savoyard John of Grailly had crusaded with Lord Edward, and remained in the Holy Land after Edward returned in order to serve in that position for the kingdom. John was certainly in Gregory's good graces, as was clear from the pope's support for his presence in the Holy Land. A letter from Pope John XXI in October 1276 noted to John of Grailly that when John of Grailly and Gregory were in the Holy Land together, Gregory:

Was able to cause your delay in those places. He had enjoined you in person, so that you would remain in that very place for the support and protection of the Holy Land, observing his promise that he would provide for you, by his position and occasion, in the necessary expenses.⁹⁸

John of Grailly was not, however, in Edward's good graces, due to accusations of corruption.⁹⁹ If John fell out of favour with Edward before he decided to stay in the Holy Land, it could have actually been an incentive for his taking the position of seneschal.

Gregory later wrote to Edward to entreat him to return John to his favour, which evidently he had not done after Gregory had asked him before.¹⁰⁰ The letter is undated, but must have been written around the time of general council, since Gregory sent to Edward the archbishop of Tyre (who had arrived from the Holy Land with John of Grailly for the council) to discuss returning John to his favour.¹⁰¹ Sometime later, Edward assented. He

⁹⁷ *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 29. Nicholas Trivet, *Annales*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), p. 284.

⁹⁸ *Reg. John XXI*, n. 4 (*Reg. Vat.* 38, f. 2r-2v). See Appendix A, 3:98.

⁹⁹ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 37 & 110.

¹⁰⁰ *RGX*, n. 820 (*RV29A*, f. 167r-167v).

¹⁰¹ *Eracles*, p. 464.

restored John's lands, and his favour.¹⁰² It does not seem, however, that John of Grailly had a role in commanding the mercenaries sent by Gregory once he became pope. Gregory did point out to Thomas when he told him to put the mercenaries under Oliver's control that if there were anyone on hand who it would be inappropriate to be placed under Oliver's command, that man should instead serve as captain.¹⁰³ Since John and Oliver were there at the same time (that is, until John left for the general council), it is clear that Gregory considered Oliver to be the more suitable man to be in charge.

Oliver had been a close ally of Louis IX, and had served in both of his crusades. He had been to the Holy Land and North Africa for about 13 years in total.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that a man of Oliver's standing was seen as more appropriate to lead than the seneschal of the kingdom (whose function normally entailed duty in the high court), but it could also indicate a preference for keeping the administration of the Holy Land in the hands of those closer to the papacy, or at least the West, since John of Grailly had come close into the trust of King Hugh, and was representing him against Maria of Antioch at the council.¹⁰⁵ Hugh was never given responsibility for aiding the Holy Land beyond that revealed in a single extant letter, in which Gregory exhorted him in general terms to do what he could to help.¹⁰⁶ It was in this letter that Hugh looked to Gregory to give John funding. John was called in this letter the marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but it is clear that this was simply a clerical error, since in Gregory's letter written to Thomas at the same time, John was named the seneschal, and this was confirmed by the *Eracles*.¹⁰⁷ Gregory assured Hugh that Thomas would supply funding to John, and that he was hoping the king of France would help the Holy Land.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² *RGX*, n. 822 (*RV29A*, f. 168r).

¹⁰³ *RGX*, n. 802 (*RV29A*, f. 161v-162r).

¹⁰⁴ Caroline Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 169. For Smith's thorough treatment of Oliver's career, see also p. 152-70.

¹⁰⁵ *Eracles*, p. 464.

¹⁰⁶ *RGX*, n. 810 (*RV29A*, f. 163r-163v).

¹⁰⁷ *RGX*, n. 809 (*RV29A*, f. 163r). *Eracles*, p. 463-4.

¹⁰⁸ *RGX*, n. 810 (*RV29A*, f. 163r-163v).

Making good on his word, Gregory instructed Thomas to give John funding, but there is no indication that he was ever given charge of the mercenaries, even before Oliver's arrival.¹⁰⁹ After Oliver's death in August 1274, Gregory continued the policy of keeping the mercenaries under the control of a western captain, with William of Roussillon coming to take command in October 1275.

Missed Opportunities? The Underutilisation of the Rest of Europe

The sources for the interim aid of the Holy Land paint a picture of Gregory relying heavily on France, with some help from Sicily (which, of course, was also under French leadership). This begs the question: what of the rest of Europe? Put simply, out of the major powers, Gregory could not rely on German or Castilian support in the interim, since King Alfonso X of Castile was busy contesting his claim for the king of the Romans, and the Germans were busy electing a replacement for the same crown after the death of Richard of Cornwall. This will be discussed extensively in chapter five. As for King Edward, the fulfilment of his crusade vow left little room for Gregory to ask him to make another effort so soon. Gregory did, however, ask the Englishman Anthony Bek, as well as the queen of England (Eleanor of Castile), to do what they could for the service of the Holy Land.¹¹⁰ Gregory had undoubtedly met Anthony while they were in Acre with Edward's crusade, and the pope called particular attention to how this personal experience should incite Bek to action. But these general pleas for aid from the English were not equal to the very specific pleas that Gregory made to the French king for sending troops. The Savoyard John of Grailly was one of Edward's men, but there is no indication that Gregory sought to send more English mercenaries to garrison the Holy Land in the interim.

¹⁰⁹ RGX, n. 809 (RV29A, f. 163r).

¹¹⁰ RGX, n. 819 (RV29A, f. 167r). RGX, n. 818 (RV29A, f. 166v-167r).

Edward had incurred a great deal of expenses on his recent crusade. This was likely due in part to provisioning his retinue of soldiers, but also because he undertook the construction of a tower in Acre while in the Holy Land. This tower was not completed until 1278, when it was handed over to the Order of St. Edward of Acre.¹¹¹ Thus, instead of encouraging Edward to give interim aid, Gregory sought to procure money for Edward and his brother Edmund for their past crusading expenses. Even while he was in the Holy Land, Edward had been trying to take care of the debts that he had been incurring. From an April 1272 letter to the archbishop of York, Edward made it clear that he had borrowed 5,000 marks from various creditors and merchants with the master and convent of the Hospitallers as guarantors.¹¹² Edward told him that he was anxious to pay it back, so that his reputation would not suffer. Thus, he asked the archbishop to transfer the money. This may not have been done, since on 30 September 1272, Gregory wrote to the bishop of Winchester, as well as the archbishop of York, so that they would give Edward and Edmund money from ecclesiastical returns for their crusade expenses.¹¹³ He quickly followed this up on 7 October 1272 by writing to his agents, the chaplain Raymond of Noger and the canon Peter of Auxonne, that they were to collect a tenth of all ecclesiastical returns, proceeds, and incomes from England from the archbishops and bishops for two years, which was for Edward and Edmund's 'serious burden' of crusade expenses. The Templars, Hospitallers, and Cistercians were exempted.¹¹⁴ This money became a cause of contention between Edward and Edmund. Gregory had to write in November 1273 to Edward to ensure that Edmund received his portion, and to their mother, the dowager queen, to ensure that this dispute did not break the

¹¹¹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I A.D. 1272-1281*, (London, 1901), p. 296.

¹¹² *CG*, vol. 3, p. 266-7, n. 3445.

¹¹³ The letter was also addressed to the bishops of London, Norwich, Worcester, Exeter, and Durham, and the abbots of St. Albans and Westminster. There was no archbishop of Canterbury at this time, which would explain his absence from this list. *RGX*, n. 186 (*RV37*, f. 56r).

¹¹⁴ *RGX*, n. 193 (*RV37*, f. 58r-58v). See also *RGX*, n. 920, and W.E. Lunt, 'Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I,' *English Historical Review* 30, n. 119 (July 1915), 398-417.

peace between her sons.¹¹⁵ Ultimately, Edward's recent crusade and the expenses he undertook for it meant that it was not fair to target him for further aid in the interim.

Unlike the Castilians, Germans, and English, King James of Aragon seems like he should have been a good target for Gregory's pleas for interim aid. After all, like Philip, he had shown a previous willingness to aid the Holy Land, yet had not completed his earlier vow (although admittedly James had sent two of his illegitimate sons to the Holy Land instead).¹¹⁶ Unlike potential crusaders from the kingdom of Castile, Gregory gave no indication that he wanted James to stay in Iberia to carry out the crusade there first, rather than go to the Holy Land.¹¹⁷ James also had links with the stalwart crusader Oliver of Termes, who was certainly a favourite of Gregory's, as was attested by his desire to keep Oliver in the Holy Land longer.¹¹⁸ By the time Oliver was in the Holy Land for Gregory, he was under the French crown, but he had been James' vassal until Termes had passed to the French.¹¹⁹ Under James, Oliver had served during the Aragonese conquest of Majorca in 1229.¹²⁰ Even after Termes fell under French suzerainty, Oliver maintained close ties with the Aragonese royal family, acting as witness for Prince Peter of Aragon's marriage, and as a witness for James at his peace with King Louis IX.¹²¹ There is, however, no indication that Gregory sought to use these ties to advantage by soliciting James to assist Oliver in aid to the Holy Land.

Like Charles of Anjou, James had ties with the military orders. The Templars and Hospitallers of Aragon both formed a part of James' own aborted crusade. There are many examples of Charles and the military orders working closely together, encouraged by

¹¹⁵ *RGX*, n. 328 (*RV37*, f. 109r). *RGX*, n. 329 (*RV37*, f. 109r-109v). Gregory also wrote to Edmund on the matter *RGX*, n. 330 (*RV37*, f. 109v-110r).

¹¹⁶ *Eracles*, p. 458.

¹¹⁷ Gregory indicated to King Alfonso's brother, Emmanuel, that he should not crusade to the Holy Land while Castile itself was under attack from the Muslims. More will be discussed about this in chapter five. *RGX*, n. 840 (*RV29A*, f. 171v).

¹¹⁸ *RGX*, n. 493 (*RV37*, f. 183v). *RGX*, n. 828 (*RV29A*, f. 168v).

¹¹⁹ Damian J. Smith, *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon (c. 1167-1276)* (Leiden & Boston, 2010), p. 67.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Crusade*, p. 53. Smith, *Crusading*, p. 155.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163-4.

Gregory, to supply victuals for the Holy Land.¹²² The small contingent of Aragonese which had arrived in Acre in 1269 had brought many provisions, which had been well received there.¹²³ Yet, there are no examples of Gregory asking James to continue to do this. Nor did Gregory seek to use James' ties (however tenuous) with the Greeks and the Mongols, which had been made before James' aborted crusade. Both had offered James assistance if he were to crusade in Asia.¹²⁴ James duly set off for the East before storms turned him back, although his port of call was to be Acre, not Greek lands.¹²⁵ Given Gregory's desire to make peace and work with the Greeks under Michael Palaeologus, and given the potential for cooperation between Edward and the Mongols, perhaps this was an underutilisation on Gregory's part. On the other hand, if French involvement in the interim were Gregory's priority, particularly as it related to Charles of Anjou in this case, then any ties that James had with the Greeks may have precluded him from involvement in aid to the Holy Land beyond a general passage in which all the major players would be present, and peace with the Greeks would already be made. Gregory's desire to keep the delicate balance between Charles and the Greeks from tipping to war was in fact so strong, that at one time he even asked the Venetians not to prolong or renew a truce with the Greeks. He believed that the timing was not expedient because it could lead to war among Christendom.¹²⁶

Outside of Gregory's desire for all of the major magnates of Christendom to participate in the general passage for aid of the Holy Land, the only example of a request for James' help for the crusade was Gregory's request for his presence at the general council, which was to plan the general passage anyway.¹²⁷ If the Aragonese navy was even half as good as James boasted at the general council, then why did Gregory turn only to the

¹²² This is the topic of chapter four.

¹²³ Thorau, *Lion*, p. 200.

¹²⁴ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 337-8.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 338-344.

¹²⁶ *RGX*, n. 927. See also *RGX*, n. 845-6 & 928-9.

¹²⁷ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 358.

Venetians, Genoese, Marseillais, French, and Charles of Anjou when he sought ships and transport for the patriarch and other supplies to the Holy Land?¹²⁸ Indeed, although James' account of his own history is full of exaggerated self-praise, and must be taken with more than a pinch of salt, he was the only king willing to offer his service for the Holy Land at the general council.¹²⁹ Perhaps the bad blood which had been brewing between James' sons and Charles of Anjou contributed, and meant that they could not effectively work together.¹³⁰ Charles was also holding prisoner the brother of James' son-in-law, King Alfonso X of Castile, whom James requested of the pope to ask Charles to set free.¹³¹ But these matters should not have precluded the assistance of James himself, who had risen above his disappointment over the loss of Provence to Charles, and other territories to Louis IX, in favour of maintaining peace among the Christian kings.¹³² Thus, it may have been purely the logistics which led to the absence of a request for aid from James, rather than trouble between him and the French. Since the Italian and Southern French naval powers were geographically situated in the traditional route of the supply of provisions and troops to the Holy Land, they may simply have been more readily at hand for Gregory's plans.

Another reason for the lack of Aragonese involvement in the interim supply of the Holy Land appeared in Gregory's July 1275 letter to James even after he had promised to join the general passage. In one of his most strongly worded and castigating letters, Gregory first praised James for offering his aid to the Holy Land, but then rounded on him with repeated criticism of his lascivious behaviour, and asked him:

Do you not dread that the horrible crime of adultery to an advocate of matrimonial union, horrible to men, severs their affection? They are not those preparations to the journey of your pilgrimage into that land, which you have offered so laudably and so publicly.

¹²⁸ James boasted that only ten Aragonese ships could easily handle 18 or 20 enemy ships. *Ibid*, p. 364.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 363-4.

¹³⁰ Smith, *Crusade*, p. 69 & 72.

¹³¹ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 367.

¹³² Smith, *Crusade*, p. 67.

Surely it does not escape your notice that it is necessary to cleanse the stains of crimes, so that one may be devoted acceptably to God?¹³³

James wrote that at the general council Gregory had forgiven him his sins with no penance other than to do no more evil.¹³⁴ Since James went back to his old ways, perhaps the morality-minded pope had thought James unworthy to aid the Holy Land until he had stopped his bad behaviour. After all, Pope Clement IV had years before similarly told James that he was morally unfit for a crusade to the Holy Land.¹³⁵

The Problem of Unsuitable Mercenaries

Gregory's initial delegation to Patriarch Thomas and Charles of Anjou of the job of hiring interim mercenaries had led to problems. Thomas, with the advice of Charles, must not have been getting the kind of mercenaries that Gregory wanted, which no doubt led Gregory to hand the matter over to Oliver of Termes. Since the mercenaries were going to the Holy Land because they were being paid, instead of because they had taken a crusader vow, perhaps one cannot but expect some troublemakers. It seemed, however, that Gregory was at first uninformed of the nature of the recruits that Thomas had been getting. He wrote to Thomas that 'we are ignorant of how many mercenaries you have admitted already, and of what sort, and how many remain to be admitted.'¹³⁶ After Oliver was to take control, Gregory was clear to point out to him that he was to surround himself with mercenaries who were useful, and not voluptuous, pompous, or disorderly.¹³⁷

It is clear that unsuitable mercenaries were a known problem, since Humbert of Romans had pointed out that there were three types of people who were unsuitable for

¹³³ RGX, n. 646 (RV37, f. 243v-244r). See Appendix A, 3:133.

¹³⁴ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 367.

¹³⁵ T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), p. 70.

¹³⁶ RGX, n. 798 (RV29A, f. 160r-160v). See Appendix A, 3:136.

¹³⁷ RGX, n. 796 (RV29A, f. 159v-160r). See Appendix A, 3:137.

business of the crusade: the inexperienced, the involuntary, and the wicked.¹³⁸ Humbert had warned that those who were involuntary (in other words, those who were compelled or who went for money) ‘did not have the business to heart.’¹³⁹ Wicked men ‘did not have the spirit of God in them,’ so they would not have the right counsel.¹⁴⁰ Gregory had written about the issue of unsuitable mercenaries to Patriarch Thomas as he was about to leave for Acre in late summer 1272. This was at the same time that Gregory handed over the task of hiring mercenaries to Oliver. Gregory wrote to Thomas that, while he was waiting for more mercenaries, he should use economy in making his expenses, so that it might not be said of him that he was doing wrong.¹⁴¹ Gregory wrote of murmurings by some people that things were going wrong on this count. People were ‘not lacking who may murmur, who may detract, who may depreciate your acts, asserting that you take in mercenaries who are difficult to handle, indeed, who are entirely useless and worthless.’¹⁴² ‘If the facts agreed with the stories,’ Gregory wrote to Thomas, then he would no doubt be ‘in want of reproaches’ and he would be acting at ‘serious cost to the Holy Land.’¹⁴³ 60,000 *livres tournois* had been assigned to the Holy Land by King Louis IX. Gregory warned that ‘the carelessness¹⁴⁴ of the ministers turned this money not to the advantage of the Holy Land but, as it were, entirely ruined it.’ This failing ‘may have weakened the souls of many people, subsequently, for exerting themselves in the defence of the Holy Land and may have diverted them, in this way, from the prosecution of its defence.’¹⁴⁵ If this type of negligence continued, then there was no doubt that, ‘hearts would be weakened to the defence of the Holy Land’ and people ‘perhaps will thoroughly despair.’¹⁴⁶ Gregory, therefore, warned Thomas that after he had

¹³⁸ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 204.

¹³⁹ ‘*Qui enim non habent negotium cordi.*’ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ ‘*Ipsi enim non habent in se spiritum Dei.*’ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *RGX*, n. 797 (*RV29A*, f. 160r). See Appendix A, 3:141.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ This has been seen this as a euphemism for ‘corruption.’ Riley-Smith, ‘Crown,’ p. 49.

¹⁴⁵ *RGX*, n. 797 (*RV29A*, f. 160r). See Appendix A, 3:145.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

arrived in the Holy Land, he should take council with King Hugh, as well as the bishop of Tortosa, the masters of the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, and the captains of the pilgrims, about how to use the resources assigned to him.¹⁴⁷ Oliver of Termes came to the Holy Land only a few months after Thomas, and, importantly, Gregory sent a letter to the patriarch to tell him to put the mercenaries under the command of Oliver, who it seems was more trusted by Gregory, and indeed by King Philip, who had been worried about his money being wasted.¹⁴⁸ While Gregory acknowledged the pitfalls of the use of mercenaries, he still continued to use them for the interim crusade.

The Availability of Indulgences for Mercenaries to the Holy Land

It appears likely, given the timing, that the first wave of troops that the *Eracles* mentioned coming under Gilles of Santi were the messengers from King Philip, who were said to be ‘suitable men having experience of arms.’¹⁴⁹ Gregory told William of Mâcon that these men could be given an indulgence for their sins.¹⁵⁰ This was, thus, a case where mercenaries were actually being given an indulgence like a crusader. Throop said that ‘one may well hesitate to call professional mercenaries crusaders, even if they fight for the Holy Land.’¹⁵¹ Yet, the line between crusader and mercenary was becoming more blurred. Maureen Purcell has written about the ‘dangerous precedent’ which had been set by ‘the fact that the indulgence was gained in the pursuit of everyday duties which were connected with crusade only at a few removes.’¹⁵² If officials who were carrying out duties only loosely related to the crusade were getting a full indulgence without having to become crusaders, it

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *RGX*, n. 803 (*RV29A*, f. 162r). *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v).

¹⁴⁹ *Eracles*, p. 464. ‘*Viros ydoneos experientiam armorum habentes.*’ *RGX*, n. 336 (*RV37*, f. 113r).

¹⁵⁰ *RGX*, n. 337 (*RV37*, f. 113r-113v).

¹⁵¹ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 101.

¹⁵² Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244-1291* (Leiden, 1975), p. 59.

seems like a small step for some spiritual reward to be offered to the mercenaries actually doing service normally done by crusaders. Indeed, Purcell was unsure if Philip's envoys received the indulgence 'because they were envoys of a king, *crucesignatus*, or because their journey was to the Holy Land, or because their journey was particularly hazardous at the time.'¹⁵³ On the point of Philip's crusader status, it must be remembered that he was still under an unfulfilled vow, and had not yet at this time taken up the cross again. But more importantly, the fact that these messengers (unspecified in number, but 'having experience of arms') were likely part of the contingent of mercenaries which arrived under Gilles of Santi, is evidence of an extension of the indulgence. It is not clear how many messengers there were, but clearly there was more than one. Nor, therefore, is it clear how many of this wave of reinforcements actually received the indulgence. No doubt the messengers themselves, whatever their number, would have needed martial experience in order to size up the situation in the East, but if this description of the messengers were actually used to refer to the whole group of men sent to the Holy Land, then all the mercenaries were receiving a crusade indulgence. In either case, the indulgence was being extended to those who had not actually taken up the cross, but who were participating in the interim crusade.

These men were being paid for their service as mercenaries, but were fulfilling the role of crusaders in a much more obvious way than the stay-at-home officials of crusaders, who did receive an indulgence.¹⁵⁴ The distinction between the practical duty of crusaders and mercenaries was negligible. The overall leader of these mercenaries, Oliver of Termes, was thought by Riley-Smith to be 'serving in the same voluntary manner as had Geoffrey [of Sargines].'¹⁵⁵ Given that Oliver had offered himself to Gregory for service in the Holy Land, Riley-Smith is probably right, though Gregory told Oliver: 'we should desire exceedingly and we decreed with firm intention that you may personally approach the land itself with a decent

¹⁵³ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, 'Crown,' p. 52.

escort, which the remainder of the aforesaid amount [of money from Tunis and the loan from Philip] will permit.¹⁵⁶ Though Oliver was a volunteer, he was still getting paid for expenses. Similarly, Geoffrey of Sargines, though a volunteer, had his expenses paid for him. Gregory wrote to King Philip in April 1275 asking him to make good on the promise of Pope Clement IV to pay 3,000 *livres tournois* from a crusader tenth in France. Clement had told Simon of Brie about this, but it had not yet been done. Gregory asked Philip to pay, because he was concerned that Geoffrey's (unnamed) female heiress had been burdened with these debts.¹⁵⁷ Crusaders having their expenses paid for them was certainly not new, and the six-year tenth at the Second Council of Lyons was decreed as a way of paying for the crusade; however, it was often the case of the retinue of a wealthy lord who would receive pay. Philip's mercenaries, and those of his father Louis before him, were being paid while their lord was not actually on crusade with them. If a crusader who received an indulgence could still be paid for expenses, then *vice versa*, it does not seem like a large leap that these groups of mercenaries who were paid for doing much the same duty could receive an indulgence. According to Purcell's classification, they would fall under the 'third type' of crusader: those 'who acted as a substitute for someone unable to fulfil his own vow, or for someone who had taken a vow with the full intention of providing substitutes according to his means.'¹⁵⁸ King Philip had certainly taken the cross, and at Gregory's behest, he was providing mercenaries as interim substitutes before the general passage. It would not be surprising, then, if Philip's messengers with experience of arms, who were to receive the indulgence from William of Mâcon, included the whole contingent of mercenaries.

Giving mercenaries the same indulgence as a crusader could have been counter-productive to the recruitment of crusaders. A key difference however, was that there was no indication that these mercenaries were falling under the papal protection of someone who had

¹⁵⁶ *RGX*, n. 796 (*RV29A*, f. 159v-160r). See Appendix A, 3:156.

¹⁵⁷ *RGX*, n. 1071.

¹⁵⁸ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 53.

taken up the cross. Purcell wrote that '[crusaders-by-proxy], like those who redeemed their vows, were not eligible for the material rewards promised to those intent on fulfilling their vows.'¹⁵⁹ Gregory outlined these rewards in his preaching instructions to his legate, Simon of Brie, telling him:

May you not allow all the crusaders or those who need to crusade for aid of the [Holy] Land, whom we support under our protection and that of the said see, to be troubled by any debts, [which are] contrary to the immunities and privileges conceded by the aforesaid see to crusaders.¹⁶⁰

Gregory also did not concede the protection of the pope, and of the blessed Peter, to those who produced ships and goods which supported the crusaders in the crusade in Iberia, for example, but they did receive a suitable indulgence.¹⁶¹ This availability of indulgence for those providing ships was also included in the crusading decree at the general council, *Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*.¹⁶² Likewise, an indulgence for mercenaries could be included within Gregory's decree that 'to those who, similarly, go in their own persons but at the expense of others, we grant full forgiveness of their sins.'¹⁶³ Since the immunities and privileges of a crusader were also an attractive part of taking up the cross, the giving of an indulgence to mercenaries, without the same privileges, would not have completely counteracted the recruitment of crusaders.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, there is no clear indication of what role these interim reinforcements played beyond that of a simple garrison, even after the arrival of Oliver of Termes. Each

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 55.

¹⁶⁰ *RGX*, n. 497 (*RV37*, f. 184v-185v). See Appendix A, 3:160.

¹⁶¹ *RGX*, n. 629 (*RV37*, f. 236r-237r).

¹⁶² Gregory X, 'Decrees of the Second Council,' p. 20. Gregory X, '*Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*,' p. 199.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*. See Appendix A, 3:163.

contingent of mercenaries certainly started their stints in the Holy Land by landing at Acre. Since Acre was covered under the truce between King Hugh and Baybars, which was still holding even to the end of 1275, they were not likely undertaking any military operations there. The most likely task for these mercenaries was simply as a garrison for Acre in the event that the truce broke before the arrival of the general passage. This, in fact, was what James of Aragon wrote in his autobiography that they should do there.¹⁶⁴ Yet, the presence of Oliver of Termes had not passed unnoticed by Baybars, who, though holding to the truce, must have been keeping watch on the arrival of reinforcements. Indeed, reports of the death of Oliver of Termes in August 1274 had reached Baybars; Oliver was noted by the sultan's court to have earlier 'come to Acre with a large contingent.'¹⁶⁵ There was, nevertheless, plenty that these reinforcements could have been doing elsewhere, not least in what was left of the crusader territories to the north, and in Armenia. In one of the only indications of a potential Frankish military move, Ibn al-Furāt wrote that 'when the Franks heard [of the Muslim claim on Latakia], they strengthened the tower.'¹⁶⁶ At a stretch, perhaps this meant additional garrisoning, but it could have simply been some sort of construction reinforcement. If the strengthening of the tower had actually meant that some of the mercenaries were sent this way, then the Franks were still not confident that even this was enough to hold Latakia, since a peace treaty was made.

It is clear that the interim measures in Gregory's dual crusade policy had been facilitated largely by France, and the mercenaries sent to the Holy Land were placed under French captains. Nevertheless, Gregory played a key role in organising these troops from the beginning of his reign, more than two years before the popular date of 1274 for setting this strategic change. The five waves of reinforcements that went to the Holy Land throughout Gregory's papal tenure show the genuine commitment that the pope had to this interim

¹⁶⁴ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

¹⁶⁵ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 160.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 163.

strategy, and also the willingness of the French king to continue aiding the Holy Land under papal direction. Given the negligible difference in the role of these mercenaries and crusaders proper, these mercenaries likely were receiving some form of crusade indulgence. During the time that Gregory was alive and sending these mercenaries to Acre in the interim, that territory suffered no loss. Of course this had much to do with the truce that had been signed, and for Baybars' preoccupation in the north. However, given that Baybars was aware of the strengthening of Acre, and yet he did not act to curb it, the sending of reinforcements may have given teeth to the truce made there. In this respect, it was a wise policy, and it had succeeded for the time.

***A PROBLEM OF GOVERNANCE?
POPE GREGORY X, CHARLES OF ANJOU,
& THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM***

*Chapter Four*¹

Introduction

Gregory's time spent in the Holy Land did not simply give him an attachment to the place, which would lead him to launch a new crusade to reclaim it for the Christians. His time there also enabled him to see the manner in which the remaining crusader territories were being run. He could not have been pleased with what he saw, and this very likely contributed to the interim troops being placed under western captains, rather than under the permanent secular leaders of the East. That there were problems was indisputable. The Latin kingdom was chronically losing territory to the powerful Mamluk sultan, Baybars. Apportioning the blame for this troubled time, however, is more difficult. Criticism of the state of the Latin kingdom and the way in which it was run in the thirteenth century is widespread, and has been discussed by several historians. Christopher Tyerman has noted that the appointment of Geoffrey of Sargines as commander of the troops Louis IX kept in the Holy Land 'exposed the serial inadequacy and failure of the indigenous politicians.'² Maureen Purcell argued that in the later thirteenth century, the 'Syrian Franks [had] been driven far from any notion of corporate crusading purpose and existence' and 'the Eastern Christian States had themselves become so absorbed in the exigencies of day to day survival as to have lost any sense of a

¹ As an aid to this chapter, see Appendix C, which gives a family tree of the claimants to the thrones of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and Appendix D, which charts Charles of Anjou's dealings with the Holy Land and the military orders from the Angevin chancery records.

² Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 727.

raison d'être which transcended that of any other kingdom.'³ Indeed, Norman Housley has written that the situation in the Holy Land at the time of Gregory's election was the worst it had been since the 1187 disaster at Hattin before the Third Crusade. He argued that Latin Syria was entirely dependent upon western help.⁴

Due, it seems, to the poor government in the Latin East, it has been alleged that Pope Gregory X colluded with Charles of Anjou to unseat Hugh of Lusignan, *de facto* king of Jerusalem, to place Charles in his stead by buying Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne. Charles did not buy Maria's claim until 1277, after Gregory had died. Nevertheless, this has not prevented historians from placing Gregory right in the very heart of the matter, with this notion being sustained, quite incredibly, with no solid evidence whatsoever. Sylvia Schein has written that it was Gregory who 'encouraged Maria to sell her claims to Charles I of Anjou as he wished him to take a more active interest in the fate of the crusader state, not only for its own welfare but also to divert Charles from his ambitions in Byzantium.'⁵ Steven Runciman has done much to give birth to this notion, quite wrongly saying that 'Gregory while he was in the East may have shown the disappointed princess some sympathy, so that she felt it worthwhile to come to the council of Lyons.'⁶ This is patently wrong, since Maria had left the Holy Land before Gregory had even arrived there.⁷ Runciman also said much the same as Schein: that Maria 'continued to enjoy the pope's favour, and he suggested that, as she was unlikely to establish herself at Acre, she should sell her rights to Charles of Anjou.'⁸

The notion that Gregory needed Charles to have the throne in order to convince him to help the Holy Land is wrong, and Schein had actually gone some way to proving this

³ Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 6.

⁴ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 10.

⁵ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 59.

⁶ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 169.

⁷ She left the Holy Land to seek the papal court when the court of Jerusalem had sided against her. *Gestes*, p. 773. 'Templar' p. 60. In addition, her goods were shipwrecked on the coast of Sicily in 1270. *RA*, vol. 6, p. 189, n. 982.

⁸ Steven Runciman, 'The Crusader States, 1243-1291,' ed. Kenneth M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades, Volume II: The Later Crusades 1189-1311* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 583. See also Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 161 & 169.

already. She pointed out that ‘ironically it was during the period 1269-1280, most of which fell before he became the king of Jerusalem, that Charles took a vivid and active interest in the welfare of the crusader state.’⁹ Charles had been supplying food, war materials, and transport to the Holy Land even *before* Gregory became pope, as demonstrated in the Angevin chancery records. Schein herself has pointed this out, though without understanding the significance. The Angevin chancery records remain an underutilized source among historians of the Crusades. Jean Dunbabin’s work on Charles of Anjou has gone a long way to opening up the discussion of Charles’ rule in Italy, but his rule of the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land remains, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has more recently pointed out, largely unexplored.¹⁰ While this chapter does not seek to give that much-needed detailed study of Charles’ rule of the Latin kingdom, it will demonstrate through the chancery records that Charles *already* had a strong interest, and indeed powerful influence, in the Holy Land, and thus it was not ‘the result of general lack of interest’ which led Charles to take up a claim to the throne of Jerusalem.¹¹ Gregory did not need to invest Charles with the rule of the kingdom in order to encourage his interest there, since he already had that interest. Furthermore, Gregory was able to convince the kings of France and the Romans to go on crusade without having to invest them with rule of the kingdom. Why should Charles be any different?

Dunbabin has continued to propagate the idea of Gregory’s involvement, and went even further by suggesting that ‘the initiative lay wholly with the pope; Charles merely acquiesced and continued the negotiations to their successful conclusion after Gregory’s death.’¹² Charles of Anjou has not always been viewed in the best of light by historians.¹³ Dunbabin was trying to give Charles a fairer treatment, but on this point she has gone too far.

⁹ Schein, *Fidelis Crucis*, p. 60.

¹⁰ Riley-Smith, ‘Crown,’ p. 53.

¹¹ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 96.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

It is inconceivable that a man of Charles' stature would simply acquiesce to the pope in a matter of such importance, even if that pope – Gregory X – was as able a diplomat as his biographers would have one believe. Even so, Jonathan Riley-Smith has picked up Dunbabin's idea, and wrote that 'although the evidence is circumstantial she is probably right.'¹⁴ It is not the job of the historian to engage in conspiracy theories, thus it is the purpose of this chapter to argue only as much as documentary evidence will allow. Runciman was patently wrong, and engaged in what was clearly a creation of his imagination. Although Schein laid out good evidence against the notion that it was Gregory's idea, she never saw the connection, and thus came to the wrong conclusion. Dunbabin, furthermore, never sourced evidence for her assertion that the idea for Charles to buy Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne of Jerusalem was entirely Gregory's, and Riley-Smith conceded that the evidence was lacking. It seems likely that Dunbabin based her argument for Gregory's involvement on his two letters to Maria of Antioch and the archbishop of Nazareth, in which he both assured Maria that he was not taking sides in her dispute with Hugh, and set about an investigation of the competing claims for the throne.¹⁵ With this in mind, an analysis of Gregory's letters to and about Hugh of Lusignan throughout his reign, and especially after the competing parties presented their claims at the Second Council of Lyons must, at face value, make it clear that Gregory treated Hugh as the king of Jerusalem, even after there had been plenty of time to evaluate the evidence for Hugh or Maria. Moreover, as will be shown, Gregory even actively discouraged Charles of Anjou from upsetting Hugh's claim in Cyprus in the paramount interest of keeping peace in Christendom.

To be clear, although this chapter seeks to vindicate Gregory on the question of Charles of Anjou's acquisition of the throne of Jerusalem, it does not argue that Gregory felt there were no problems with the governance of the Latin East. Thus, in part, this chapter will

¹⁴ Riley-Smith, 'Crown,' p. 53.

¹⁵ *RGX*, n. 3 & 103 (*RV37*, f. 1v & 32v-33r).

investigate the governing role of Gregory's newly appointed patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas Agni of Lentini. It will argue that Gregory sent Thomas to the Holy Land not simply to fill the vacancy in the patriarchal seat, but also to fill a governing role in the Latin East in general, which was lacking due to the longstanding absence of the Hohenstaufen kings, followed by the weak position of the Cyprus-based Hugh of Lusignan.

An examination of Gregory's papal registers and the Angevin chancery records demonstrates both Charles' pre-existing interest in the Holy Land, as well as a pattern of behaviour that shows how Gregory and Charles interacted with the people in the Latin East. These records are striking not so much for what they have, as for what they lack. There are significantly few exchanges between the permanent secular leadership in the Latin kingdom and either the court of Gregory or of Charles. So few, in fact, that they are almost negligible. When Gregory or Charles made contact with the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land, it was chiefly not to the permanent secular leadership that they turned, but to the patriarch of Jerusalem, the military orders, or to representatives from the West who were temporarily stationed there. In all of Gregory's extant letters in his papal registers, very few mentioned – and even fewer were directed to – Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus and *de facto* king of Jerusalem. As has been seen in chapter three, Gregory depended entirely upon western captains to lead his mercenaries in the Holy Land. Likewise, in the Angevin chancery records, Charles' extensive dealings with the Holy Land were directed almost exclusively to the military orders. There was only one extant case of correspondence with Hugh of Lusignan. Such evidence points to a lack of confidence in the permanent secular leadership in the Holy Land on the part of both Gregory and Charles. The implications of this lack of confidence are another matter. Although Charles sought a regime change in the Holy Land that put himself on the throne, this was not Gregory's idea, nor did he support it to its fullest

extent, since it would have upset the peaceful conditions that he considered crucial to the success of the crusade.

The Succession Dispute before Gregory's Time as Seen in the Historiography

Peter Edbury has done much to explain the internal conflicts and the complicated dynastic disputes of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem that give the background for Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne.¹⁶ The histories of Cyprus and the mainland crusader kingdom were linked with the conquest of the island by Richard I of England during the Third Crusade. They became even more intertwined when the kings of Cyprus held the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem, culminating at last with Conradin's death and the ascension of Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, to the throne of Jerusalem. Hugh was not, however, the only one to claim the throne of Jerusalem. His aunt, Maria of Antioch – whom René Grousset wrongly called Hugh's 'old insignificant cousin' – also asserted her right.¹⁷ As Edbury has argued, Maria was not so insignificant. Edbury wrote that 'the genealogical information on which her case rested was stated accurately, and her speech, which had evidently been carefully prepared, is a model of lucidity.'¹⁸ But to understand the whole story, and events which would unfold when Gregory was on the papal throne, it must also be known that before the struggle between Hugh of Lusignan and Maria of Antioch for the throne of Jerusalem, the same Hugh had disputed with Hugh of Brienne over the kingship of Cyprus. From an interpretation based strictly on primogeniture, Hugh of Brienne had the stronger claim, since he was descended from the elder branch. But primogeniture (or 'successoral representation,' as Edbury has called it) was not the deciding factor in

¹⁶ Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991). Peter W. Edbury, 'The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264-6 and 1268,' *Camden Miscellany* 27 (Camden, 1979), 1-47.

¹⁷ René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1936), p. 643.

¹⁸ Edbury, 'Disputed Regency,' p. 15.

inheritance in the Holy Land, and had, in fact, been ‘rejected in the Latin East’ as the ‘custom governing the inheritance to fiefs,’ as Edbury has pointed out.¹⁹ And indeed, although both of the men were from the same generation, and Hugh of Brienne from the elder branch, Hugh of Lusignan was actually older than him.²⁰

After the 1267 death of King Henry I of Cyprus’ only child, King Hugh II of Cyprus, the throne of Cyprus was to pass to the offspring of Henry’s older sisters. Hugh of Brienne was the son of Marie, the eldest, who had married Walter IV of Brienne. The younger sister was Isabella, who had married Henry of Antioch.²¹ Their son, Hugh of Lusignan, prevailed as King Hugh III of Cyprus, since the high court sided with the son from the younger branch, but who was older and from the powerful Ibelin family. Hugh of Brienne had also not initially made a claim to the throne of Cyprus.²² However, if Hugh of Brienne’s claim based on successoral representation (however much rejected in the Latin East as a legal form) had been upheld in the kingdom of Cyprus, as he had desired, then so too could it have been in the kingdom of Jerusalem after the death of Conradin. Not enough has been made of Hugh of Brienne’s claim by historians. Hugh pushed his claim for the throne of Jerusalem, but failed in favour of Hugh of Lusignan, who was already holding the regency. After this dispute, Hugh of Brienne left for the Brienne lands of France and Sicily, serving – it must be well noted – Charles of Anjou.²³ More on this connection will be discussed below.

At the time Gregory travelled to the Holy Land on crusade in 1271, the dispute between Hugh of Lusignan and Maria of Antioch over the throne of Jerusalem was far from being resolved to everyone’s satisfaction. This conflict has been addressed by La Monte,

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

²⁰ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 35.

²¹ Hence the name often given to their child: Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan. Since Hugh chose to use his mother’s name, this thesis identifies him as Hugh of Lusignan. *Gestes*, p. 772. ‘*Templar*,’ p. 60.

²² *Gestes*, p. 769. ‘*Templar*,’ p. 56.

²³ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 36.

Riley-Smith, and the aforementioned Edbury.²⁴ Maria of Antioch received crucial support from the Templars, but the high court of Jerusalem sided with Hugh of Lusignan, and he was crowned king of Jerusalem under the protest of Maria's representatives. Maria had left for the West to make her claim known to the papal court.²⁵ It comes as no surprise that the high court sided with Hugh, whom Edbury portrayed as a very active ruler, who made painstaking efforts not only to protect Cyprus, but also the mainland territories.²⁶ Perceptions of Hugh and his abilities have varied among historians. With more flair than proof, Grousset wrote that 'in reality, Hugh III, who appears to have been very wise politician, worthy of better times, sought on the contrary to put an end to the old divisions to unite against Baybars the beam of Frankish forces.'²⁷ Tyerman, on the other hand, asserted that 'from his base in Cyprus, Hugh could do little to direct affairs on the mainland.'²⁸ Edbury, who has given Hugh the closest examination, favourably wrote that amid the conquests of Baybars, Hugh 'reacted by doing what no ruler of Cyprus is known to have done since the early 1250s and deployed Cypriot military resources on the mainland.'²⁹ The use of the Cypriot military in this way would eventually lead to their refusal to serve on the mainland, with Hugh having to patch things up with them before they would agree to serve on the mainland for four months a year.³⁰ The point must be made that Hugh was, in fact, doing what he could to help the Latin East, but being based in Cyprus, his rule of the kingdom of Jerusalem was not strong.

The king of Jerusalem was not all-powerful. It certainly never helped matters that, from the time that Emperor Frederick II married Isabella II of Jerusalem and then left the kingdom in 1229, until the death of their grandson Conradin in 1268, the legitimate ruler of

²⁴ John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, MA, 1932); Riley-Smith, *Feudal*.

²⁵ *Eracles*, p. 475. *Gestes*, p. 773. 'Templar,' p. 60.

²⁶ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 89.

²⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, vol. 3, p. 645.

²⁸ Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 730-1.

²⁹ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 89.

³⁰ *Eracles*, p. 462-464.

the kingdom resided in the West. This vacuum of regal authority provided ample opportunity for conflict among the indigenous leadership during the king's absence, which would not have been easy for Hugh to fix from Cyprus. The barons had become very powerful, and they jockeyed for position. The internal divisions in the Latin East were serious. René Grousset aptly called these divisions 'the politics of suicide.'³¹ Acre and the Venetians had been feuding with Tyre and the Genoese since 1258.³² Philip of Montfort, a very powerful baron in the Holy Land, and at one time in the service of Charles of Anjou, had been given the lordship of Tyre by King Henry I, though the claim was tenuous, since Henry was only serving as regent at that time. Hugh assured the support of the Montfort family by securing their claim, and marrying his sister to the son of Philip, John of Montfort, who would succeed his father in the lordship when Philip was assassinated.³³ These internal divisions and the absence of a strong central governing authority provided an ideal opportunity for Baybars to make further incursions into the crusader territories.

Charles' Dealings with the Holy Land Immediately before Gregory's Papal Tenure

Charles of Anjou's chancery records show that even before the time Gregory had taken the papal throne and could have had any influence on Charles' policy, Charles already had a strong interest in the Holy Land; thus, Gregory need not have encouraged Charles, as Schein argued, to take a more active interest. Norman Housley has noted that the Holy Land was dependant on Sicily for food supplies in the 1280s during the Sicilian Vespers, but this dependence can actually be placed even earlier.³⁴ Dunbabin wrote that Charles helped supply

³¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, vol. 3, p. 664.

³² Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 91.

³³ *Gestes*, p. 773-777. 'Templar,' p. 61-66. In praise of Philip, Grousset wrote that with his death, 'Frankish Syria had, on the eve of final combat, lost its most energetic baron.' Grousset, *Histoire*, vol. 3, p. 647.

³⁴ Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982), p. 67.

grain to the Hospitallers in Acre, but this does not nearly tell the whole story.³⁵ As the following sections will demonstrate through a detailed presentation of Charles' dealings with the Holy Land and the military orders, his kingdom was a major supplier of food and other supplies for the Latin East. Likely due to the absence of a strong central governing authority, his contact there was almost exclusively not with the permanent secular leadership, but rather the military orders.

Sicily had been the breadbasket of the Hohenstaufen Empire, and it remained so for the Angevins. Given its geographical position, these resources were also useful for the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land, especially considering that, on land, the crusader territories and their eastern Christian allies were surrounded by Muslim territories. In earlier times, the Latin East had actually been self-sufficient enough that they had been able to export food to their Muslim neighbours.³⁶ Baybars' conquests, and the destruction that had gone along with it (both by Baybars, and by the retreating Christians), had made for less prosperous times, and as William of Beaujeu noted to Rudolph of Habsburg in 1275, there was widespread starvation.³⁷ Around the time that Gregory was pope, Charles' chancery records show that the Latin East had instead become a major importer of food.

The records indicate that Charles began to send supplies regularly to Acre, especially wheat and barley, in 1269, coinciding with the planned launch of Louis IX's crusade, of which Charles was to be a part. But even after Louis' death, during the papal interregnum, as well as during Gregory's pontificate, Charles continued to supply the Latins in the Holy Land with foodstuffs and military supplies, with no indications that he was profiting directing from this supply, but rather out of genuine devotion or to secure his position in the Holy Land.

³⁵ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 120.

³⁶ This was as recently as the time of John of Ibelin, who died in 1266. Ibn 'Abd Al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik Al-Zahir*, p. 139.

³⁷ Redlich, *Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64. On the poverty that came from the destruction of Christian possessions by Baybars, see also William of Beaujeu's letter to King Edward: Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 55-6. On the Latins destroying their own possessions in their retreat, see Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 146-7.

Ultimately, as will be discussed below, the Holy Land had become so dependent upon Charles' aid that when he withheld some supplies, as it seems he did in late 1274 and 1275, starvation ensued. This is clear if one compares Charles' supply of the Holy Land in that time with William of Beaujeu's letter in 1275 that told of widespread starvation (although Muslim raids and conquest would also have been a strong factor). Thus Charles of Anjou not only had an interest in the Holy Land, but a clear influence there as well.

As noted, some of the first instances of Charles' supply of the Holy Land came in the lead up to Louis IX's second crusade. Charles was in contact with the military orders: in 1268 he ordered that Brother Philip of Eglis, a Hospitaller, along with his brothers and other mercenaries, be paid expenses for spending time in service to Charles.³⁸ Earlier, in October 1267, Pope Clement IV had ordered the Hospitallers of Sicily to aid Charles, newly appointed king of Sicily, in combating his enemies there.³⁹ Thus, Charles' ties with the Hospitallers were made even before he began supplying the Holy Land. Starting in 1268, Charles also noted ties to a Templar named Arnulf many times, who was the 'beloved treasurer of his court.'⁴⁰ In more direct relation to the Holy Land itself, in April 1269, Charles allowed an unnamed Templar to extract 100 packloads (*salmas*)⁴¹ of wheat from Bari with the stipulation that it only be used by Templars.⁴² Later in June, a mace-bearer of the Templars was permitted to extract 1,500 packloads of wheat and 1,000 packloads of barley to take to Acre, with no stipulations.⁴³ Also, the Hospitallers were exempted from tax on olives and olive oil from Sicily, and then from all royalty and tax.⁴⁴ This likely had something to do with their aid in Charles' conquest of Sicily, but Charles also noted that the Hospitallers had always been

³⁸ *RA*, vol. 1, p. 124, n. 46.

³⁹ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 164, n. 3279.

⁴⁰ *RA*, vol. 1, p. 171, n. 270 & 271, p. 172, n. 272, p. 181, n. 30, p. 183, n. 314, p. 185, n. 325, 327 & 328, et al.

⁴¹ *Salmas* are a measurement for commodities, and can be translated as a 'packloads.' If each of the packloads were the amount that could be packed onto a beast of burden, then the vast scale of these provisions becomes clearer.

⁴² *RA*, vol. 2, p. 58, n. 206.

⁴³ *RA*, vol. 2, p. 124, n. 473.

⁴⁴ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 199-200, n. 3342, p. 200, n. 3344.

under the protection of the kings of Sicily – thus also linking himself implicitly with the previous Hohenstaufen and Norman kings of Sicily.⁴⁵ It is clear that Charles had close relations with the Hospitallers in this time.

It was not only foodstuffs that Charles was sending to the Holy Land; he sent military support as well. In July 1269 he was busy. One of the most notable figures involved was the Hospitaller John of Villiers, future grand master of his order.⁴⁶ Charles ordered that John be permitted to go back to Outremer with five horses and mules.⁴⁷ He allowed Francis of Flanders, a knight, to take ship from Bari or Brindisi with his two squires, three mercenaries [*garzionibus*], two horses, and a great magnitude of provisions in aid of the Holy Land.⁴⁸ To be clear, this aid was not necessarily from Charles himself, but as the ruler of these ports, Charles' influence meant that he could either make it easy, or difficult, for goods to be exchanged. In the same month, he allowed Brother Aymonis, of the knights of St. Thomas of Acre, to extract supplies from Bari of wheat which had been given in alms, and to take those supplies to Acre.⁴⁹ Also in July, a prior of the Hospitallers in Bari by the name of Peter of Neocastro was given licence by Charles to extract 2,000 packloads of wheat, 1,000 packloads of barley, and 100 packloads of pulses, with the stipulation that the supplies be given for distribution not only by the Hospitallers, but also the Templars, the Teutonic Knights, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Geoffrey of Sargines, the seneschal in the kingdom, close ally of King Louis IX, and commander of the troops that Louis had left in the Holy Land.⁵⁰ However, Geoffrey had died in April of 1269, so he could no longer manage distribution.⁵¹ There were four other shipments to Acre in 1269,⁵² and Charles even provided for his brother

⁴⁵ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 203, n. 3347.

⁴⁶ 1284-1294.

⁴⁷ *RA*, vol. 3, p. 286, n. 2; vol. 5, p. 277, n. 5. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 204, n. 3350.

⁴⁸ *RA*, vol. 1, p. 290, n. 393.

⁴⁹ *RA*, vol. 1, p. 292, n. 398; vol. 2, p. 134, n. 516.

⁵⁰ *RA*, vol. 1, p. 293, n. 402, p. 295, n. 410. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 208-9, n. 3360.

⁵¹ *Gestes*, p. 772. '*Templar*,' p. 60.

⁵² *RA*, vol. 1, p. 299, n. 428 & 429, vol. 4, p. 90, n. 588, p. 129, n. 853 & 854.

Louis IX's carpenter Honorius to be sent to the Holy Land with a supply of wood so that he could construct instruments and machines of war.⁵³ That Charles provided for Honorius to travel to the Holy Land for such purposes, and not Tunis, may be indicative of a genuine intention on Charles' part to take the crusade there, after the mission to Tunis.

In two of the very few cases that named permanent secular leaders, or at least knights from the Holy Land, Charles allowed Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, to extract supplies for the defence of Acre.⁵⁴ But though Philip was among the permanent nobility in the Holy Land, he had only come into the lordship of Tyre in 1246, and he still had lands in France near Toulouse, which had been won by the Montfort family during the Albigensian Crusade.⁵⁵ Philip had also been married to Eleanor de Courtenay, daughter of Peter II de Courtenay, and thus was the brother of Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople. Charles would no doubt have given particular attention to such people, since he was himself interested in Greek territory. In December 1266, Charles had made an agreement with Philip and his knights, shield bearers, and servants in return for their service – a service whose end-date was whenever Philip chose to return to his country, or else the Lord's resurrection.⁵⁶ This assistance was no doubt useful for Charles' conquest of Sicily, and for Louis IX's crusade to Tunis. This close relationship between the Montforts and Charles adds complication to the allegiances of the Holy Land, since, as mentioned above, the Montforts also allied themselves to Hugh of Lusignan through marriage, and after Charles had taken his foothold in Acre, John of Montfort still allowed Hugh to have a base of operations in Tyre.⁵⁷ It is complicated even more since the Montforts of Tyre, along with the Genoese, had no love for the Venetians, who were based in Acre, and were close to Charles. Hugh of Lusignan had made efforts to

⁵³ RA, vol. 5, p. 180, n. 317. *Actes et lettres de Charles I^{er}, roi de Sicile, concernant la France (1257-1284). Extraits des registres angevins de Naples et publiés*, ed. A. de Boüiard (Paris, 1926), p. 39, n. 165.

⁵⁴ RA, vol. 4, p. 100, n. 661.

⁵⁵ La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 74.

⁵⁶ RA, vol. 1, p. 54-5, n. 119.

⁵⁷ Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 96.

patch things up between them. Yet, it had been Philip of Montfort who had served Charles, so his son John might not have had the same policy. It is possible, nevertheless, that the Montforts were not as firmly rooted in the Lusignan camp as it would at first seem. Perhaps the Montforts looked to place themselves in the best possible position for whatever the outcome would be in the struggle between Charles and Hugh.

In the other case when someone outside of the military orders was mentioned, Charles made provision in Acre for Philip and Bartholomew Mainebeuf, knights and brothers of Acre, *contra* Raymond Boniface, former consul of Charles' lands in Marseilles.⁵⁸ At least Bartholomew, if not Philip, was associated with Julian of Sidon in the 1250s.⁵⁹ Julian had, himself, joined the Templars after he sold his rights to Sidon to the order in 1260.⁶⁰ It is possible that Bartholomew had followed Julian in joining the order, but Philip likely did not, because a 'Philip Mainebeuf' appeared in the *Templar of Tyre* in the 1290s on a diplomatic mission, since he had 'a high understanding of Arabic,' without being named a Templar.⁶¹ The abovementioned dispute was perhaps what had precipitated a letter in October 1270, in which there was some disagreement between the vicar of Marseilles and the Templar Peter Carbonello over the delivery of goods to Acre, but Charles ordered that Peter not be bothered, since the shipping guarantee at Acre was confirmed to be valid.⁶² The fact that this case involved a Templar may lend some credence to one of the Mainebeufs belonging to that order, but if neither were, then this would be one of the very few cases where Charles had contact outside of the military orders.

Charles' aid to the Holy Land continued into 1270, at the same time that Louis IX's second crusade was directed to Tunis. In January 1270, Hugh Bertrand of the Templars was allowed to extract from Bari and Brindisi 500 packloads of wheat, which was to be shared

⁵⁸ *RA*, vol. 4, p. 136, n. 901.

⁵⁹ *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 321 & 332.

⁶⁰ Claverie, *Ordre du Temple*, vol. 1, p. 282 & 352.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 43.

⁶² *RA*, vol. 6, p. 42, n. 147.

with the Teutonic Knights and the Hospitallers in Acre. Following that, in February 1270, the master of the Hospitallers, Hugh Revel, received from Charles 300 packloads of wheat, 200 packloads of barley, as well as 16 horses, mules, and she-mules in aid of the Holy Land.⁶³ Again, this aid had to be shared with the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights, with no others being mentioned. In March 1270, the Teutonic Order was allowed to extract 400 packloads of wheat to take to Acre, with no indication of how it was to be distributed.⁶⁴ In April, Charles sent aid for the faithful in Acre, and specifically to the Hospitallers. He noted that the ship was not allowed to give any aid to the Greeks, Saracens, Pisans, or any enemies of the Christian faithful.⁶⁵ Another shipment was sent to supply the Templars and Hospitallers in the Holy Land with wheat and barley, with a warning that none of the supplies were to go to the land of Michael Palaeologus.⁶⁶ There was some confusion over another shipment to the Templars in Acre managed by Brother Stephen of the Templars, when the ship carrying the goods was blown off course and turned back instead of arriving at its destination. But there was no blame to be had, and no penalties applied.⁶⁷

In January 1271, Charles gave permission for John II of Brittany, earl of Richmond, and husband of Edward I of England's sister Beatrice, to take wheat from any port in Sicily and transport it to Acre, doubtless in aid of Lord Edward's crusade.⁶⁸ It was thus probably this John, and not John of Grailly, who served as Edward's major-domo, and who had arrived in the Holy Land before Edward, as Makrizi mentioned.⁶⁹ Following in March 1271, the Templars were given permission to take wheat and barley from Apulia and transport it to

⁶³ *RA*, vol. 3, p. 189, n. 474, p. 278, n. 911.

⁶⁴ *RA*, vol. 3, p. 192, n. 489.

⁶⁵ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 27, n. 124.

⁶⁶ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 238-9, n. 1270.

⁶⁷ *RA*, vol. 7, p. 17-8, n. 43.

⁶⁸ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 192, n. 1003. John of Brittany also appears in an entry from July 1273 to ask for letters from Charles revoking the requirement of Julian of Faneto to go in service of the Holy Land to atone for a murder. *RA*, vol. 10, p. 140-1, n. 552.

⁶⁹ Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 85-6.

Acre.⁷⁰ On several other occasions in this year the Templars, Hospitallers, or Teutonic Knights were allowed to take provisions to Acre, including a ballista.⁷¹ An entry in March 1271 noted a suspicion that the goods (barley, wheat, oil, fruit, wood, and wine) of three Lucchese merchants,⁷² which were supposed to be taken to Acre, might instead have been taken to the prince of Achaea to be sold there at his invitation, but the merchants were said to have declined the invitation, and the matter was closed.⁷³ These goods could be the ones named in another entry dated earlier in the same month, directed to the Hospitallers.⁷⁴ It is surprising that this would have been seen as a problem, since Charles and the prince of Achaea, William II of Villehardouin, were allies, and Charles was later to receive the principality upon William's death in 1278.⁷⁵ Charles' interest in the matter could indicate how vitally needed the supplies were for the Holy Land in his mind.

Charles' interest and influence in the Holy land is shown very clearly in records from April 1271, just before Edward of England arrived in the Holy Land. The Angevin chancery records noted that a messenger from the 'sultan of Babylon' (Baybars) was to leave a port in Sicily and sail either to Alexandria or Acre. He was to be allowed to depart and expenses and necessities were to be supplied to him.⁷⁶ This delegation had been in Sicily as early as December 1270, when it was noted that the expenses of the messengers were to be paid.⁷⁷ In January, the messenger was given gifts of a scarlet robe, and a blue robe for his son.⁷⁸ Charles also made provision for his own messengers, the Dominican Peter de Beania and Brother Berengar to be sent to the sultan, also in April 1271.⁷⁹ Even when Charles was not crusading

⁷⁰ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 140, n. 706.

⁷¹ *RA*, vol. 7, p. 45, n. 198 (the ballista), p. 197, n. 76, p. 199, n. 99, p. 200, n. 104 & 107; vol. 8, p. 48, n. 81, p. 52, n. 112.

⁷² Guido Panici, Bommocino Trentini, and Bandino of Fundora.

⁷³ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 205, n. 1091.

⁷⁴ *RA*, vol. 7, p. 62, n. 44.

⁷⁵ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 91.

⁷⁶ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 175, n. 911.

⁷⁷ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 159, n. 819.

⁷⁸ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 165, n. 853.

⁷⁹ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 176, n. 913, p. 217, n. 1162.

himself, he was still involving himself in the future of the crusader territories. This could be an indication of his building interest in a claim to the throne. Most importantly, all of the records fall before Gregory came to the papal throne, and before he would have been able to influence Charles' position towards the Holy Land. Thus, they show that Charles had a pre-existing interest there.

Charles' Dealings with the Holy Land during Gregory's Papal Tenure

Charles' pre-existing interest in the Holy Land, his geographical position, and his situation as a papal vassal made him the obvious choice to send word of Tedaldo Visconti's papal election in 1271. Likewise, the steady stream of shipments that were already being made between southern Italy and Acre probably made it more likely than not that messages from Rome (or in the case of Gregory's election, from Viterbo), would follow along the same lines. Charles' relationship with the Holy Land was already established, and it was only natural that this would continue during Gregory's reign without having to be directed by the pope. Thus, in late 1271 and early 1272 Charles went to significant length to accommodate the arrival of the new pope, Gregory X, from Acre to Brindisi, and first to help the cardinals to send word of his election.⁸⁰ In January 1272, Charles ordered that ships, for which he had paid to be armed and outfitted, should go to meet the new pope.⁸¹ He also ordered that money should be sent for the happy arrival of the new pontiff from the Holy Land, although he noted that it would be difficult for his money distributors to do so, on account of their extreme poverty.⁸² It was also Charles who paid to send various messengers, including the Templar Stephen of Syse, Fulk of Podio Riccardi, Peter of Hucemagna, and Gerard of Bassilion, to

⁸⁰ *RA*, vol. 7, p. 232, n. 133.

⁸¹ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 219-20, n. 22.

⁸² *RA*, vol. 5, p. 236, n. 110.

Acre to meet the new pope.⁸³ Charles hired the Genoese merchants John the Chancellor, Pellegrino del Gallo, and Balian Larcaro to send two of his clerics (the aforementioned Peter and Gerard) to pay homage to the pope in the Holy Land.⁸⁴ Following in August 1272, it was Charles to whom Gregory turned when he needed to deliver the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Thomas Agni of Lentini, to Acre. Charles noted that he had three well-equipped galleys at Messina that would be used to transport the patriarch.⁸⁵ The *Eracles* recorded that he arrived in Acre in October 1272.⁸⁶

The only entry that mentions correspondence between Charles and Hugh of Lusignan fell near the beginning of Gregory's papal tenure, in May 1272. In it, Hugh was actually named king of Cyprus *and* Jerusalem.⁸⁷ Charles sent letters of recommendation for some unnamed merchants from Ancona, who also had letters from their commune, and who had to travel to Hugh's territory. It does not specify if that territory were Cyprus, or, in fact, the mainland. Given the other cases in which merchants travelled to Acre without an apparent letter of recommendation, and that trade in supplies with Cyprus did not figure largely into the Angevin chancery records, it may be that these merchants were going to Cyprus. If this destination were seen as unusual, then the letter of recommendation might have been necessary. Generally, Charles was supplying the mainland territories, not Cyprus. Cyprus, by and large, did not suffer the same lack of supplies that the mainland did, and so provisioning as a matter of course would go to Acre, where the Latin Christians were more hard-pressed, and where the western Christians would have taken more interest for the sake of its preservation. If the theory of these merchants going to Cyprus is correct, then it shows that

⁸³ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 234, n. 99; vol. 7, p. 233, n. 139, p. 110, n. 94; vol. 8, p. 97, n. 49. Charles also gave Peter of Hucemagna money to provide for sailors, rigging, and ships, and for any repairs that might need to be done. *RA*, vol. 7, p. 244, n. 171. Stephen of Syse and Fulk of Podio Riccardi were the messengers named in the *Eracles*, said to be sent by the Church and by Charles of Anjou. *Eracles*, p. 471.

⁸⁴ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 250, n. 195.

⁸⁵ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 223, n. 36, vol. 8, p. 74, n. 282. The second source is dated 1271 in Filangieri, but the date must be 1272, since it mentioned Pope Gregory. It also corresponds to a letter sent by Gregory to Charles, asking that he provide the three ships. *RGX*, n. 800 (*RV29A*, f. 161r-161v).

⁸⁶ *Eracles*, p. 462.

⁸⁷ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 109-10, n. 104.

while Charles respected Hugh's rule in Cyprus, he did not feel it necessary to contact Hugh with letters of recommendation for shipments to the mainland territories – evidence of Hugh's weak position there.

While there is only one piece of evidence remaining in the Angevin chancery records for exchange between Charles and Hugh, there are two that detail exchange between Charles and the king of Armenia. The first, from February 1272, merely noted messengers from the king of Armenia, Leo II.⁸⁸ Leo was the son of Isabella of Armenia and King Hethum I, who had gone to the Mongol court of Karakorum. In something that has been glossed over in history, because the claim was not pursued, Leo II himself actually had a claim to the throne of Jerusalem, which, if based on the admittedly unfavoured primogeniture, was actually better than Maria of Antioch's. Through his mother, Leo was descended from the older sister of Maria of Antioch's mother Melissande. This sister, Sibylla, had married King Leo I of Armenia. Leo II was of the same generation as Hugh of Brienne and Hugh of Lusignan, though he was descended from a younger branch of Isabella I of Jerusalem's progeny. The second entry in the chancery records, dated in 1272, ordered the vice-admiral of Sicily to requisition a ship to take the messengers, now named Archdeacon Varani and William, a knight, to sail from Brindisi to Acre.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, no indications were given about why this exchange took place.

In 1272 Charles again permitted the Hospitallers to take wheat, barley, and pulses, as well as seven horses and seven mules from Apulia to Acre.⁹⁰ In June 1272, Charles confirmed to Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi that the Hospitallers had the right to pasture and water their horses in crown lands.⁹¹ Ties between Charles and the Hospitallers, or at least with Jacob of Tassi, continued to be tight, and Charles sent Jacob to Tunis to collect payment

⁸⁸ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 95, n. 40.

⁸⁹ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 97-8, n. 51.

⁹⁰ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 202, n. 564, n. 565; vol. 9, p. 30, n. 47; vol. 10, p. 25, n. 95, p. 39, n. 134. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 273, n. 3466.

⁹¹ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 138-9, n. 199. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 270, n. 3457.

from the king of Tunis in September 1272.⁹² While Jacob was doing this, Charles also ordered him to return the wood from the war machines which had been left in Tunis after that disastrous crusade.⁹³ Later, in January 1273, there is an indication that three galleys and one ship under Oliver of Termes were being prepared to sail in aid of the Holy Land from Charles' lands, although the *Eracles* noted that Oliver arrived in April 1273 with 25 horsemen and 100 crossbowmen from the king of France, with no mention of support from Charles.⁹⁴ In March 1273, 2,000 packloads of wheat were directed to the Hospitallers at Acre through merchants.⁹⁵ These supplies were not allowed to be taken to the lands of Michael Palaeologus.

In April 1273, Charles showed his interest once again in the Holy Land by calling on the Hospitaller Jacob of Tassi to come to him in Foggia to confer about news from the Holy Land that he had heard from the patriarch of Jerusalem, leaving some of Jacob's associates to guard his treasury in his absence.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, there is no indication of the content of this news. There were also merchants, one named Simon of St Stephen and another only 'de Barcholam,' who took supplies to and from Acre beyond the usual wheat and barley. Their stock included precious stones, lathes, swords, ballistae, linen, frankincense, cassia, sedge (presumably for thatching), hooks, wine, garlic, saws, and an old veil.⁹⁷ In May, supplies, which included ballistae for defence, were sent to the Templars in Acre.⁹⁸ The records also indicate exchange in August 1273, which included six separate shipments: one to the Hospitallers, four to the Templars, and one to the Teutonic Knights.⁹⁹ Though Gregory certainly would have welcomed all of this provisioning of the Holy Land, Charles' supply

⁹² *CG*, vol. 3, p. 276, n. 3473.

⁹³ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 279, n. 3483.

⁹⁴ *RA*, vol. 9, p. 44, n. 133. *Eracles*, p. 463.

⁹⁵ *RA*, vol. 9, p. 52-3, n. 183.

⁹⁶ *RA*, vol. 10, p. 30, n. 108, n. 109, p. 30-1, n. 110. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 287, n. 3498.

⁹⁷ Unfortunately, there is no indication of what this 'old veil' was. *RA*, vol. 10, p. 14, n. 52.

⁹⁸ *RA*, vol. 9, p. 215, n. 98.

⁹⁹ *RA*, vol. 9, p. 293-4, n. 22.

there during the first part of Gregory's pontificate did not significantly increase with Gregory coming to the papal throne. Rather, Charles essentially maintained the significant levels that already existed before Gregory's papal tenure.

Charles' Relationship with the Templars and the Proof of His Power in the Holy Land

It is important to note that Charles' supply of the Holy Land seemed to diminish in 1274, coinciding with his dealings with Maria of Antioch at the Second Council of Lyons. The sources in 1274 are limited to an August 1274 document in which Charles ordered that help be provided to the Templar preceptor of Bari to find his two escaped Muslim slaves that had been brought from Outremer.¹⁰⁰ They had taken flight near Lucera, a city in Italy with a largely Muslim population. In June 1274 (still during the general council), more merchants from Sicily took grain to Acre to the Hospitallers, with orders from Charles not to take any to the Genoese, Muslims, or to the land of Michael Palaeologus (who, by this time, had actually healed the schism).¹⁰¹ Of even less evident use for the Holy Land itself, in August 1274, Charles gave the right to Raymond, a Hospitaller, and John, a goldsmith from Longobucco, to search his realm for minerals, including silver, lead, iron, and salt. They had to do so at their own expense, and to give Charles a tenth of anything they found.¹⁰²

In 1275, direct supply to the Hospitallers seems to have stopped altogether, probably due to their support of Hugh of Lusignan in connection with Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne of Jerusalem. In September 1275, Charles granted licence to merchants to take wheat

¹⁰⁰ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 55, n. 143.

¹⁰¹ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 89, n. 1.

¹⁰² *RA*, vol. 11, p. 96, n. 36. In another entry on the same matter, also in August 1274, Charles' share was stated as one-third, and the licence was mandated to end in April 1275. *RA*, vol. 11, p. 245, n. 216. It seems that some silver was found in Calabria: *RA*, vol. 12, p. 170-1, n. 34, p. 260-1. n. 364.

to Acre, Tyre (*Sirum*), or Tripoli, among other places not in the Holy Land.¹⁰³ No indication in this case was given about to whom it was to be sold. In several cases in December 1275, however, wheat was sent from Sicily to Acre for Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem, or the Templars.¹⁰⁴ It was not allowed to be taken to the Genoese, Pisans, or to the lands of Michael Palaeologus. Even though the schism with the Greeks had been healed at the general council, Charles was still not open to trade with Byzantium, and did not allow any supplies to go to Michael Palaeologus' lands. Also in 1275 or perhaps 1276, Charles granted the Teutonic Knights licence to take 12 horses and 12 mules for the defence of Acre.¹⁰⁵ The important point here is that after the general council, when Maria and Hugh had their cases for their claims to the throne presented, Charles allowed merchants to take wheat and barley and other supplies from his land to Acre, but said they could unload and sell them to the patriarch or to the Templars, specifically, and no longer mentioned the Hospitallers. This is perhaps evidence of lines being drawn in the ongoing manoeuvrings for Charles to buy Maria's claim to the throne of Jerusalem.

The Hospitallers had been supporters of Hugh of Lusignan in the dispute for the throne, while the Templars, especially under their new master William of Beaujeu, were firmly on the side of Charles. The *Eracles* noted that when Hugh of Lusignan had retired to Tyre in 1276, the Hospitaller leaders, along with Patriarch Thomas, William of Roussillon (the French commander), and others (but not the Templars), had gone to convince him to return and to govern.¹⁰⁶ The Templars had been supporting Maria of Antioch from the very beginning of her claims to the throne. When her claim was rejected in favour of Hugh of Lusignan, Maria had gone to the Templars for support before she departed for the West to

¹⁰³ *RA*, vol. 13, p. 46, n. 25.

¹⁰⁴ *RA*, vol. 13, p. 30-1, n. 137, p. 91-2, n. 207, p. 93, n. 211, vol. 16, p. 177, n. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *RA*, vol. 13, p. 34, n. 157.

¹⁰⁶ *Eracles*, p. 474-5.

plead her case to the papal court.¹⁰⁷ Maria's connection to the Templars is supported by Marino Sanuto, who wrote at first that:

The king of Cyprus, before he was retiring from Tyre, arranges the sending of messengers to the western kings and princes, in particular to the pope and cardinals, [telling them about those] who threatened their disobedience who stayed in Acre, entreating so that [the pope and cardinals] may employ a beneficial remedy for those [who are disobedient] and for the condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁸

The disobedient party, though unnamed, was probably the Templars, since Sanuto continued: 'truly the aforesaid Maria, (who was unremittingly seeking the Roman curia, just as you followed above in chapter XIII, pursuing a petition for obtaining the kingdom of Jerusalem) had become acquainted with all that had been narrated before, through messengers of the Temple.'¹⁰⁹ It is hard to imagine that the Templars would have sided with Maria of Antioch because they wanted her on the throne of Jerusalem, unless they were looking to exploit her (potentially) weak rule. Thus, their support for her was more likely because they would have already known that she would sell her claim to Charles. Once William of Beaujeu (a man intimately connected with the French royal family) came to power as Templar master, this connection is made even more obvious.

By the time of the general council, the Templars had become very close to Charles, due to William of Beaujeu having been elected as master of that order. Malcolm Barber wrote that William, 'a cousin of Charles, was never fully trusted in the East, for he seemed to be so thoroughly a representative of his famous relative.'¹¹⁰ In 1273, Charles had ordered that William of Beaujeu, by then master of the Templars, not be disturbed in the possession of a

¹⁰⁷ *Gestes*, p. 773. 'Templar' p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 227. See Appendix A, 4:108.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:109.

¹¹⁰ *The Templars: Selected Sources*, trans. Malcolm Barber & Keith Bate (Manchester & New York, 2002), p. 14.

mill near Florence.¹¹¹ In the same year, it was noted in Charles' chancery records that William was 'his blood brother' and Charles ordered that provision be made concerning the illicit occupation of Templar lands.¹¹² The Beaujeu family was closely associated with the royal house of France. Humbert, lord of Beaujeu, was the constable of France under King Philip III. The *Gestes des Chiprois* noted that William was 'related to the king of France' and both the *Gestes* and the *Eracles* noted that when he was elected master he was serving as the commander of the Templars in Apulia (therefore close to Charles).¹¹³ It is not surprising, then, that Pierre-Vincent Claverie wrote that the Templars, due to their involvement in Charles' court, could have had something to do with the exchange of Jerusalem's throne.¹¹⁴

Given how clear it is from the Angevin chancery records that Charles was a major provider of supplies for the Holy Land, it is not surprising that even though the Hospitallers had initially sided with Hugh, they ultimately did nothing to intervene for him when Charles made his claim to the throne through his *bailli* Roger of San Severino in 1277.¹¹⁵ The importance of the supplies that came from Charles' lands to the Holy Land meant that the Hospitallers choice had been made for them. Unless Baybars' conquests could be stifled to provide time for the Christians to grow all their own supplies again, their survival depended in large part upon the Sicilian king. Charles knew this, and used it as leverage. In fact, as Gregory was preparing the general council in 1274, he sent a letter to Charles inquiring about rumours of unrest among the Sicilians. The source for this is Saba Malaspina, who, it must be noted, was writing with hindsight of the Sicilian Vespers. Still, what Saba had to say about the unrest of the Sicilians is not the important point here. Rather, Saba wrote that after

¹¹¹ RA, vol. 9, p. 261, n. 258.

¹¹² 'Consanguineo suo.' The occupiers were: Loysium Beaujeu, lord of Gravine, John of Confluencia, lord of St. Nicandri, and Raynald of Culant, lord of Rubi. RA, vol. 9, p. 264-5, n. 288.

¹¹³ *Gestes*, p. 779. 'Templar' p. 69. *Eracles*, p. 463 & 473.

¹¹⁴ Claverie, *Ordre du Temple*, vol. 1, p. 90.

¹¹⁵ The *Gestes* noted that Hugh sent word to the pope when he abandoned Acre that he was no longer able to govern 'because of the behaviour of the Temple and the Hospital.' *Gestes*, p. 783. 'Templar,' p. 74. Riley-Smith also noted that Hugh had quarrels with the religious orders. Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 226.

Gregory castigated Charles, the Sicilian king reacted by confiscating the grain shipments of the Templars and Hospitallers. This coincides with the abovementioned drop-off in supplies in the chancery records. Gregory wrote to King Philip for help on this, and told him that if the rumours of what Charles was doing were true, they struck ‘to the very core, without doubt since it hurts the condition of the Holy Land.’¹¹⁶ Clearly this embargo did not go on forever, as the shipments in 1275 to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Teutonic Knights, and the Templars attest. But supply to the Hospitallers does not seem to have resumed to previous levels (though Charles was using the Hospitaller Brother Raymond for mineral exploration in Italy). This episode shows the power that Charles had to affect the condition of the Holy Land, and how dependent it could be upon his will. Even the Hospitallers were brought into line in the end, since at that time their survival depended in large part upon the supplies that came from Charles. Moreover, the fact that Charles had disobeyed the will of Gregory by withholding supplies to the Holy Land in 1274 meant that he was not always following the pope’s lead there. Dunbabin’s idea that Charles was simply acquiescing to Gregory’s alleged plans is shown to be all the more misguided.¹¹⁷ Charles had plans of his own.

Patriarch Thomas and the Government of the Holy Land

As has been seen in chapter three, Gregory began organising relief for the Holy Land immediately upon his election. When he dealt with leading figures in the Holy Land, however, he turned not to Hugh of Lusignan, but rather to the military orders, the clergy, or to western Christians who were stationed only temporarily in the Latin East. This section will address how Gregory dealt with governmental relations in the Latin East at a time when the permanent secular leadership was in disarray. By the time Gregory became pope, this was a

¹¹⁶ Saba Malaspina, Chronik, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 35 (Hannover, 1999) p. 246. See Appendix A, 4:116.

¹¹⁷ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 96.

long-standing problem. Indeed, Bernard Hamilton has noted that it was William of Agen, the former patriarch of Jerusalem (1261-70), who ‘was the real authority in the kingdom of Acre and indeed throughout Frankish Syria. Thus in 1267 when a Catalan knight escaped from an Egyptian prison and came to Acre with news of an impending Egyptian attack he was immediately brought before the patriarch rather than before the *bailli* of the kingdom.’¹¹⁸ In fact, the authority of the patriarch had been evolving in the thirteenth century seemingly in concert with the breakdown of permanent secular authority in the Holy Land. As Hamilton noted, Patriarch Thomas’ immediate predecessor had been the real authority in the Holy Land. Pope Urban IV had made this clear with William’s appointment, noting that he was to govern both spiritual and temporal matters in the churches of Acre and Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ This was the first direct reference in the later thirteenth century in which the patriarch would be ‘governing,’ especially temporally. William’s own predecessor as patriarch, James Pantaléon (1255-61), had been placed there by Pope Alexander IV with the more vague instructions to ‘rule rightly and guide indirectly.’¹²⁰ Before James’ tenure, Pope Gregory IX and Innocent IV had noted that Robert of Nantes, patriarch of Jerusalem (1240-54), was there as papal legate for the province of Jerusalem and the Christian army. Gregory IX noted Robert’s ‘rule’ as a shepherd of the church, but there is no sense that he was there to govern more widely in this time.¹²¹

For Gregory X, however, it is clear that the patriarch would have a strong governing role, even though by that time the throne of the kingdom had been handed to Hugh of Lusignan by Patriarch William. But though Gregory relied on his patriarch for government in the Holy Land, this does not mean that he wished to supplant Hugh for Charles. The new

¹¹⁸ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 273.

¹¹⁹ *Reg. Urb. IV*, vol. 2, n. 168, 191, & 241.

¹²⁰ ‘*Recta reges et direges indirecta.*’ *Les registres d’Alexandre IV*, ed. Charles Germain Bourel de la Roncière, Pierre de Cenival, Auguste Coulon, and Joseph Loye, vol. 1 (Paris, 1893), n. 992. Letter number 317, also to James Pantaléon on his election, mentions nothing of government.

¹²¹ *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Lucien Auvray, vol. 3 (Paris, 1908-10), n. 5179. See also n. 5225, 5229, & 5230. See also *Reg. Innocent IV*, vol. 1, n. 12 & 13.

patriarch, the Sicilian Thomas Agni of Lentini (1272-77), had visited the Holy Land before. He had arrived in Acre in 1259 as papal legate and newly-appointed bishop of Bethlehem, and acted as a papal representative to try to reconcile the Italian communes.¹²² He had also acted as an intermediary in a dispute between the Templars and the Hospitallers in the 1260s after Julian of Sidon had sold his land to the Templars – a sale which led to Julian being summoned before Hugh of Lusignan when he took the throne of Jerusalem.¹²³ He then returned to the West and became archbishop of Cosenza, in southern Italy. His credentials were clear, and as early as 10 March 1272, Gregory wrote to Thomas of his appointment both as patriarch of Jerusalem and bishop of Acre.¹²⁴ He had been given both positions until Jerusalem was recovered.¹²⁵ Gregory also made Thomas his full papal legate in the whole of the Orient.¹²⁶ It was Charles who arranged for Thomas to be sent to the Holy Land with aid, as Gregory wrote in a letter to King Philip.¹²⁷ Gregory also wanted Charles to coordinate with the patriarch to send aid from the king of France to the Holy Land.¹²⁸ The pope wrote that Charles was aware of the necessity for aid to the Holy Land to be expedited (no doubt through the Sicilian king's own pre-existing interest in the Holy Land), and that Charles' famous ancestors had answered the call to that land. Thus, Gregory wanted Charles, in concert with the patriarch, not to delay the departure of mercenaries and aid to the Holy Land that would be travelling through his land.¹²⁹

In what may well be the best indication that Gregory perceived that there was a lack of a strong governing figure in the Holy Land, he wrote to Edward (then still in Acre) that

¹²² Claverie, *Ordre du Temple*, vol. 1, p. 165 & 188.

¹²³ *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 282-3.

¹²⁴ *RGX*, n. 8 (*RV37*, f. 6v). Similarly, Gregory wrote first to the chapter house and people of Acre, *RGX*, n. 9 (*RV37*, f. 6v-7r), followed by the secular leaders in the Holy Land, *RGX*, n. 10 (*RV37*, f. 7r); finally, to the Hospitallers and Templars, *RGX*, n. 11 (*RV37*, f. 7r-7v).

¹²⁵ The policy of making the patriarch of Jerusalem the bishop of Acre as well was begun by Urban IV. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 270-1.

¹²⁶ *RGX*, n. 10 (*RV37*, f. 7r).

¹²⁷ *RGX*, n. 789 (*RV29A*, f. 157v-158r).

¹²⁸ *RGX*, n. 794-5 (*RV29A*, f. 159r-159v).

¹²⁹ *RGX*, n. 795 (*RV29A*, f. 159r-159v).

Thomas was to be a governor [*gubernator*] in the Holy Land. Gregory had written near the beginning of his letter to Edward that ‘to this [business of the Holy Land] alone we have turned our devotion with vigilant contemplation, so that the aid of defence and of government would come forth to the land which we have left behind placed in a time of extreme necessity.’¹³⁰ Gregory went on to tell Edward in the same letter ‘that a new athlete of the faithful has arisen, a shepherd and a very useful governor certainly keeping watch of the flock entrusted to him, namely, our venerable brother the patriarch of Jerusalem.’¹³¹ He let Edward know that through Thomas’ control of the church of Jerusalem, ‘we hope and we believe not less usefully to provide for the condition of the [Holy] Land.’¹³² The placing of Thomas in the Holy Land, and Gregory’s subsequent close contact with him, is an indication that the pope wanted to have close ties to the administration there. Thomas would become his key contact in the Holy Land for all matter of business – in terms of ecclesiastical appointments, supply of the Christian territories, and organisation of the crusade – until Simon of Brie was to come to supplant Thomas as the new full papal legate with King Philip of France (though, as it turned out, that never occurred).¹³³

The evidence that remains of Thomas’ leadership role in the Holy Land does not indicate that he was placed to supplant Hugh, but rather to fill a governing role in Acre, no doubt because Hugh spent so much time in Cyprus. For example, in an August 1273 letter in which Thomas gave the Hospitallers two houses in Acre, he wrote that another man named Thomas, treasurer of the Hospitallers, had bought the two houses ‘for the utility and evident necessity of the whole city of Acre, according to prayers and our petitions, and [those of] Lord Hugh of Lusignan, king by grace of God of Cyprus and Jerusalem, [and others].’¹³⁴ Clearly Patriarch Thomas, Gregory’s own legate, recognized the authority of King Hugh in

¹³⁰ *RGX*, n. 362 (*RV37*, f. 120v-121r). See Appendix A, 4:130.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:131.

¹³² *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:132.

¹³³ *RGX*, n. 532 (*RV37*, f. 190v-191r).

¹³⁴ *CG*, p. 297-8, n. 3515. See Appendix A, 4:134.

Jerusalem. Likewise, in 1275, Thomas and the masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers acted as arbiters in the ongoing conflict between the Venetians and John of Montfort, lord of Tyre. The letter is long and full of legal language, but Thomas clearly wrote with consideration of the king still in mind: ‘if, however, the king does not give [consent], or puts off giving, within three weeks or a month, let it not be, on account of this, a prejudice to the king of Jerusalem.’¹³⁵ Thomas was sent to the Holy Land as Gregory’s legate, so he would have been well-briefed in Gregory’s policy. The fact that Thomas respected the rule of King Hugh – however absent that rule may have been in practice – is surely evidence that Gregory respected it as well, even though he was not working closely with the king for provisioning the Holy Land with mercenaries.

Thomas must not have been able to solve all the problems in Acre himself, since Gregory had to write to the Hospitallers in July 1275 so that they would put an end to discord between themselves and the other religious orders in Acre.¹³⁶ The letter does not make it clear whether Gregory was referring to conflict with the other religious military orders, or non-military religious orders. Nor is nature of the conflict made clear. Gregory was only interested in ensuring that the Hospitallers made peace so that the conflict would not cause harm to the condition of the Holy Land. The only clue that might indicate that this was a conflict with a non-military order is that fact that Gregory says that the conflict was ‘between you [the Hospitallers] and other religious of Acre.’¹³⁷ If it had been a conflict with another of the military orders, who had a presence throughout the Holy Land and Europe, then perhaps Gregory would not have pinpointed the religious of Acre specifically. In any case, this episode shows that Gregory was making attempts to keep the peace among the Christians in the Holy Land (and thus obviously, that there was a *need* to take action on keeping the peace at all). At the same time, Gregory was more than busy enough in Europe trying to keep peace

¹³⁵ This letter was reproduced in Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 381-386. See Appendix A, 4:135.

¹³⁶ *CG*, p. 327-8, n. 3581.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:137.

among the major political players there, as will be discussed in chapters five and six. But on this point, William of Beaujeu lamented that dissension among princes in the West was harming the Holy Land.¹³⁸ If the pope wanted to keep what remained of the Holy Land together in time for his general passage, then he had his work cut out for him, since even the Hospitallers, who were meant to be safeguarding the Holy Land, were indulging in petty conflict in Acre.

Even before Thomas arrived in Acre, Gregory was in communication with him about the provision of appropriate aid. An especially interesting case related to potential crusaders. While the patriarchate of Jerusalem had been vacant after the death of William of Agen in 1270 (during which time, of course, there was also a papal vacancy), the Templars and Hospitallers had been accepting the redemption of crusader vows in various places outside of the realm of Germany, with the Templars accepting up to 10,000 marks of silver, and the Hospitallers 2,000.¹³⁹ Popes Innocent III and Alexander III had given permission to do this long before. Gregory particularly pointed out to Thomas that:

With the pretext of the indulgence [from Innocent III], the same master and brothers of the Knights Templar in this way hitherto began to accept redemptions and bequests in the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the see of Jerusalem vacant, and you fear, as you assert, lest the said brothers of the Hospital wish to accept [redemptions and bequests] in the same kingdom to your prejudice and annoyance.¹⁴⁰

Thomas pointed out to Gregory that the patriarchs of Jerusalem had been accustomed to accept the money from the redemptions and bequests when the apostolic legate was not in the Holy Land.¹⁴¹ In fact, Thomas was both patriarch and legate. As a result, Gregory wrote to the Templars on 13 April 1272, telling them ‘that by no means may you presume to receive

¹³⁸ Redlich, *Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64.

¹³⁹ *RGX*, n. 27-29 (*RV37*, f. 10v-11r).

¹⁴⁰ *RGX*, n. 27 (*RV37*, f. 10v-11r). See Appendix A, 4:140.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the same redemptions and bequests in the kingdom [of Jerusalem].¹⁴² Perhaps this was an honest mistake; after all, before Thomas arrived, there had been neither legate nor patriarch in the Holy Land to collect the money. Some of the money might have gone to the military orders anyway to pay for the defence of the Holy Land. Nevertheless, the Templars' illicit collection of this money might also be one of the reasons that Gregory told Thomas: 'for when once 60,000 *livres tournois* were assigned in funding for the [Holy] Land by King Louis of France of famous memory, the carelessness¹⁴³ of the ministers turned it not to the advantage of the [Holy] Land but as it were entirely ruined it,' as was discussed in chapter three.¹⁴⁴ This was all the more reason to have a strong governing presence in the Holy Land; and for Gregory, it would not hurt to have someone he could keep a close eye on, since the pope was the one arranging for the new funds that were going to supply the Holy Land.

Gregory's Addresses to Hugh of Lusignan

Gregory did not work closely with Hugh, nor with any of the other permanent secular magnates of the Latin East; nevertheless, this does not indicate that Gregory wished to overthrow Hugh's rule. As will be shown, Gregory addressed Hugh of Lusignan as both king of Cyprus *and* Jerusalem throughout his papal tenure, with little exception. Certainly, the naming of a title does not necessarily indicate Gregory's policy towards Hugh's regime in Jerusalem; nevertheless, Gregory's addresses to Hugh should not be dismissed as simply copying a form of address which he had received (that is to say, that he was simply addressing Hugh in a form which Hugh had given himself in a letter addressed to Gregory). Gregory's letters to Maria of Antioch and to the archbishop of Nazareth made it clear that the

¹⁴² RGX, n. 29 (RV37, f. 11r). See Appendix A, 4:142.

¹⁴³ Again, this has been seen this as a euphemism for 'corruption.' Riley-Smith, 'Crown,' p. 49.

¹⁴⁴ RGX, n. 797 (RV29A, f. 160r). See Appendix A, 4:144.

form of address that the pope used for Hugh was very much on his mind.¹⁴⁵ It is thus extremely unlikely that he would have been so absentminded as to use the title ‘king of Jerusalem’ without conscious intention. Firstly, on 19 March 1272, Gregory announced Thomas’ appointment as patriarch of Jerusalem and bishop of Acre to the Hospitallers and the Templars.¹⁴⁶ He let it be known that Thomas had full legatine power. Following on 17 April, Gregory wrote to the clergy in Cyprus, Armenia, and the mainland crusader territories, as well as to the king of Armenia and the prince of Antioch that Thomas was the legate and patriarch.¹⁴⁷ Importantly, Gregory also wrote to Hugh of Lusignan at this time to tell him the same, and addressed him as king of Cyprus *and* Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸ This was one of four extant cases in which Gregory addressed Hugh as king of Jerusalem, and not just of Cyprus.¹⁴⁹

One can only assume that Hugh of Lusignan received word from Gregory of the general council, although the surviving letters of invitation are limited, as noted in chapter two. It is clear that Gregory wrote in late March and early April to leading ecclesiastical and secular figures in the West.¹⁵⁰ Gregory wrote to Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem, as well as to all the other ecclesiastical figures in the Holy Land to invite them to the general council.¹⁵¹ With some delay from the earliest invitations, on 24 October 1272, Gregory invited Michael Palaeologus, the Byzantine emperor, to the council.¹⁵² Following these up in the next year, on 11 March 1273, Gregory sent another invitation to the council (with the location of Lyons set), which he directed to all the ecclesiastical figures in the West, as well as to the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of the Greeks, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic

¹⁴⁵ *RGX*, n. 3 & 103 (*RV37*, f. 1v & 32v-33r).

¹⁴⁶ *RGX*, n. 11 (*RV37*, f. 7r-7v).

¹⁴⁷ *RGX*, n. 10 (*RV37*, f. 7r).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ The other three are: *RGX*, n. 619, 797, & 810 (*RV37*, f. 231v-232r, & *RV29A*, f. 160r & 163r-163v)

¹⁵⁰ *RGX*, n. 160 (*RV37*, f. 51r-52r), *RGX*, n. 657 (*RV29A*, f. 211r-212r), *RGX*, n. 161 (*RV37*, f. 52r-52v). *RGX*, n. 658 (*RV29A*, f. 212r-212v), *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 493-4.

¹⁵¹ *RGX*, n. 366 (*RV37*, f. 122v-123v).

¹⁵² *RGX*, n. 194 (*RV37*, f. 58v-61r).

Knights.¹⁵³ There are no indications that Gregory sent word to the secular leaders of the Latin East, with the exception of the king of Armenia, whom he entreated to send any letters that may concern previous councils, especially Nicaea.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, though no letters exist about it, the other secular leaders in the Holy Land (including Hugh) could not but have known of the council. Realistically, however, the Holy Land could not be emptied of its leadership when it faced such a dire threat.

Though Gregory was not addressing Hugh directly, it is still useful to understanding his conception of him to note the cases in which Gregory spoke of Hugh. After Thomas' arrival in Outremer, the pope urged him to take council with the king of Cyprus *and* Jerusalem, as well as the bishop of Tortosa, the masters of the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, and the captains of the pilgrims, about how to use the resources assigned to him.¹⁵⁵ This is the only case in which Gregory gives any indication that someone from among the permanent secular leadership in the Holy Land should be included in organisation. However, when Gregory wanted King Philip to send aid to the Holy Land, as was seen in chapter three, he told him to send the aid to Oliver of Termes.¹⁵⁶ There is no indication that he wanted Philip to coordinate this aid with any other figure in the Holy Land. When Oliver had arrived in the Holy Land, Gregory sent to the patriarch to tell him to put the mercenaries under his command.¹⁵⁷ There was not even a hint of possibility that the mercenaries would serve Hugh, or even his constable, marshal, or seneschal, since they were not mentioned at all.

Not long after Oliver's arrival, probably shortly after May 1273, Gregory wrote to the patriarch instructing him to give suitable funding to John of Grailly, the seneschal of the

¹⁵³ *RGX*, n. 220 (*RV37*, f. 74r-74v).

¹⁵⁴ *RGX*, n. 304-5 (*RV37*, f. 101r).

¹⁵⁵ *RGX*, n. 797 (*RV29A*, f. 160r).

¹⁵⁶ *RGX*, n. 492-3 (*RV37*, f. 183r-183v), duplicated in *RGX*, n. 827-8 (*RV29A*, f. 168v).

¹⁵⁷ *RGX*, n. 337 (*RV37*, f. 113r-113v).

kingdom, who had crusaded with Lord Edward.¹⁵⁸ It is at this same time that Gregory wrote his only other letter addressed directly to Hugh of Lusignan as king of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ In this case, too, he named him king of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Gregory congratulated Hugh on restoring peace between himself and his barons. Hugh had urged Gregory to send the new master of the Templars quickly to the Holy Land, and also to give funding to John of Grailly. Gregory assured Hugh that the aid to the Holy Land was coming from the king of France, and that the patriarch would be able to supply John of Grailly with the necessary funding (as was also made clear in Gregory's letter to Thomas). Gregory then urged Hugh, together with his magnates, the patriarch, and the other inhabitants to do all that they could to guard the Holy Land. This was before Maria of Antioch had made her plea at the Second Council of Lyons, but shows that in 1273, as in 1272, Gregory considered Hugh to be the king of Jerusalem.

When Gregory was at the Second Council of Lyons, his address to Hugh of Lusignan changed. Gregory wrote to Hugh, calling him only king of Cyprus, to inform him that the Pisans were no longer under excommunication, and that he had restored their privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁰ While Gregory did not call Hugh 'king of Jerusalem,' he was still giving him directions concerning that realm. In this case and at this time (20 June 1274), Gregory was at least acknowledging that Hugh was in power in the kingdom, even though he had no longer addressed him with the title of king of Jerusalem. Clearly there was something provoking this move, and it was most certainly the presence of Maria of Antioch at the Second Council of Lyons. More on this matter will be discussed in the next section, but even

¹⁵⁸ Guiraud was not able to date this letter, but it must have been written after May 1273 and before the 1274 council of Lyons, because Gregory mentioned the newly elected master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu, saying that he would keep William in the West until after the council. Gregory complained of suffering from illness at this time. *RGX*, n. 809 (*RV29A*, f. 163r). Perhaps a firmer date of August or September 1273 can be given to these letters, since his illness was mentioned at this date in the *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 558.

¹⁵⁹ *RGX*, n. 810 (*RV29A*, f. 163r-163v). This undated letter must have been written at the same time as the abovementioned letter to the patriarch, since Gregory again mentioned his infirmity, and his retention of the Templar master.

¹⁶⁰ *RGX*, n. 376 (*RV37*, f. 130r).

in 1274 Gregory was still acknowledging that Hugh held *de facto* control of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Crucially, on 11 July 1275, Gregory wrote his last surviving letter which named Hugh of Lusignan.¹⁶¹ Guiraud's edited volume of Gregory's registers noted that Hugh was named only the king of Cyprus, but in the original document it is clear that Gregory actually named Hugh 'illustrious king of Jerusalem and Cyprus.'¹⁶² This is the strongest evidence yet that Gregory, even *after* Maria had approached the Second Council of Lyons, still considered Hugh to be the king of Jerusalem. After the council, and presumably after Maria was no longer on his very doorstep, Gregory resumed naming Hugh king of Jerusalem. In the 1275 letter to Patriarch Thomas, Gregory asked him to help Cardinal-deacon Ottobono of Fieschi's chaplain, Bertholino, to find a vacant position in a cathedral in the realm of Cyprus (Guiraud wrote 'a cathedral of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem,' but it is clear from the original source that it was only 'in any cathedral church of the kingdom of Cyprus').¹⁶³ The connections here are diverse. When he was an archdeacon, Gregory had served with Ottobono during his mission to England, although Gregory and Ottobono (the future Pope Hadrian V) might not have been completely likeminded. When Ottobono became pope, he annulled Gregory's decree on elections that imposed increasingly severe deprivations on the cardinals until they chose a new pope.¹⁶⁴ Ottobono was a close ally of Charles of Anjou, the man who helped urge his election after the death of Gregory's successor, Pope Innocent V.¹⁶⁵ In another twist of connections, Ottobono's chaplain, Bertholino, was the son of one of King Hugh's knights, Henry of Sora, as was noted in Gregory's letter. The letter was written to the

¹⁶¹ *RGX*, n. 619 (*RV37*, f. 231v-232r).

¹⁶² 'Jerusalem et Cipri Regis Illustris.' *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Guiraud's interpretation: 'Cathedrali regnorum Cypri et Jerosolimitani.' The correct form: 'In aliqua ecclesia Regni Cipri Cathedrali.' *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Eracles*, p. 477.

¹⁶⁵ Charles calls Ottobono 'our dearest compatriot and friend' ('*karissimi compatriis et amici nostri*') in a letter which also mentioned that Ottobono's brother, Percival, was working as a chaplain for Pope Gregory. *RA*, vol. 10, p. 91, n. 364. See also Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 172-3.

patriarch of Jerusalem, and thus did not necessarily have to stick to the conventional niceties and name Hugh the king of Jerusalem. Hugh might never see the letter. Nevertheless, Gregory *did* call Hugh the king of Jerusalem, and he called him this to the official papal representative in the Holy Land – the man who it is reasonable to believe was well-versed in papal policy. It is clear, then, that as Gregory was in the final year of his papacy, approaching his death in January 1276, that he still considered Hugh to be the king of Jerusalem. Gregory's treatment of Hugh as king of Jerusalem was thus consistent throughout his papal tenure.

Maria of Antioch's Claim to the Throne of Jerusalem

The evidence from Gregory's papal registers demonstrates that he never stopped treating Hugh as king of Jerusalem, and though Gregory placed Thomas in Acre to fill a governing role, it was not meant as a threat to Hugh's own rule. For his part, Charles' chancery records demonstrate an interest in the Holy Land both before and during Gregory's pontificate. More than an interest in the Holy Land, Charles also had an influence there. It was Charles who stood to gain from taking the throne of Jerusalem, since it was his prestige that would increase, and it had been supplies from his own kingdom of Sicily that were the lifeblood for the Latin inhabitants of the Holy Land. Moreover, it was Charles who arranged to buy Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne *after* Gregory had died. Gregory's alleged role in the matter must therefore be re-examined, and the impetus for the deal placed on Charles' shoulders.

Maria based her claim upon her closer degree of relationship with Isabella I of Jerusalem, who was the common link (though through no less than three of her daughters) for Maria, Hugh of Brienne, and Hugh of Lusignan, to Conradin, the legitimate king of

Jerusalem until his execution by Charles of Anjou. Conradin was descended from Isabella I's marriage to Conrad of Montferrat, and their daughter Maria of Jerusalem. Conradin was thus Isabella I's great-great grandson. Maria of Antioch was Isabella I's granddaughter through her daughter Melissande, the youngest from her fourth marriage to Amaury II of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Hugh of Lusignan and Hugh of Brienne were both great-grandsons of Isabella, through Isabella's daughter Alice, her second daughter from her third marriage with Henry of Champagne. Hugh of Brienne was the son of Alice's eldest daughter, Marie, and Hugh of Lusignan was the son of her second daughter, Isabella. Maria was therefore closer to Isabella I of Jerusalem generationally, which, according to Riley-Smith, 'made good law.' He continued that that her claims 'were obviously based on the precedent established by Hugh [of Lusignan] himself and the high court in 1264 and confirmed in 1268: that primogeniture did not apply to the inheritance of the crown, the only relevant criterion being that of consanguinity.'¹⁶⁶ Both Hugh of Brienne and Hugh of Lusignan were descended from an older offspring, and as Riley-Smith also noted (perhaps confusingly) 'primogeniture was recognised for the transmission of the crown.'¹⁶⁷ Primogeniture would only have been recognised under ideal circumstances, such as that which gave Conradin himself the title through his father Conrad, and his grandmother, Isabella II. If it had been primogeniture that applied after Hugh's death (which, admittedly, it did not), then Hugh of Brienne would have the throne of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and Maria of Antioch's claim would have followed not only Hugh of Lusignan, but also the descendants of Alice's younger sister Philippa, who had married Erard of Brienne. After Philippa's descendants, Maria would still follow, it is interesting to note, the descendants of the marriage of her mother's older sister, Sibylla, to the king of Armenia. King Leo II, as noted above, had been in contact with both Charles of

¹⁶⁶ Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 221. Edbury also noted this: 'Disputed Regency,' p. 13.

¹⁶⁷ Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 220.

Anjou and Pope Gregory X, though for unspecified reasons. There is no evidence that he pursued the crown.

On Hugh of Lusignan's gaining of the throne of Jerusalem, Riley-Smith wrote: 'so false was his position that in 1324 his grandson could only suggest that the high court had decided in his favour because he was male.'¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Hugh of Lusignan was given the crown of Jerusalem based on his nearer relationship to the person last in the position of regent, Hugh II of Cyprus. It certainly did not help Maria's case that she was over forty years old, unmarried, and childless, and that Hugh of Lusignan was in the prime of his years, and already holding the *de facto* power of the kingship of Jerusalem. What then did Maria actually hope to gain from her claim? Did she actually wish to rule, given that she was very likely in no position to produce an heir, or were there already plans to sell her claim to Charles, as Riley-Smith tentatively suggested?¹⁶⁹

Charles was no stranger to the dispute over the throne of Jerusalem even before he became overtly involved, since it cannot be forgotten that it was through him that the last direct claimant – Conradin – was executed. An entry in the Angevin chancery records in June 1271 noted that the Hospitallers were free from taxation from the time before Emperor Frederick II's deposition up to the 'happy times' of Charles' own rule. They were also owed three ballistae, which were to be provided to them for shipment to Acre.¹⁷⁰ By mentioning Frederick's rule in Sicily and dealings with the Hospitallers in the Holy Land, and then connecting this to his own rule and relationship with the Hospitallers, Charles was drawing a link with Frederick's rule and his own. Charles was fulfilling the same obligations to the Hospitallers and the Holy Land that Frederick had before. The question that arises, then, was how far did Charles go in comparing his position with that of Frederick in the past? Did this comparison go as far as his rule in the Holy Land, especially considering that not only was

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *RA*, vol. 6, p. 248-9, n. 1328. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 254-5, n. 3423.

Charles ruling Frederick's former Sicilian territory, but that it was he who executed Frederick's grandson Conradin, heir to the throne of Sicily *and* Jerusalem? No definite answer can be given, but the links are suggestive, and led Grousset to write that as 'successor of Frederick II in the kingdom of Sicily, the Angevin monarch intended to succeed him also in the kingdom of Jerusalem.'¹⁷¹ Charles' personal ideas in connection with Frederick's rule are impossible to discover. What can be reconstructed, however, is the practical side of Charles' dealings with the Latin East, and what they reveal about his interest and influence in the Latin East. Only through this kind of evidence can one link Charles to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

No one has been able to demonstrate a connection between Charles of Anjou and Maria of Antioch before Gregory's reign and the final sale of her claim in 1277, but it is clear from the Angevin chancery records that Charles and Maria knew each other, even before he purchased her claim to the throne of Jerusalem. The link can be dated even before the Second Council of Lyons – as early, in fact, as 1270, when a ship carrying the goods of Maria, 'daughter of the late prince of Antioch,' was sunk. Maria had certain objects in a box, but that box had been found opened and emptied. Charles ordered anything that could be found of the stolen property to be tracked down and that the guilty be arrested.¹⁷² It is not clear what the stolen items were. Soon after, Maria entered again into the chancery records, when Charles ordered a payment of some money to her.¹⁷³ There is no indication of the reason behind this payment, but the letter is dated 1271 – the year *before* Gregory returned to the West to assume the papacy, and thus before Gregory could have had anything to do with linking Charles and Maria together for any reason. Charles had no familial relation to Maria, and no reason to pay her any money at this time unless some of her stolen money had finally been found. It is possible that he gave this money out of the goodness of his heart, since there is

¹⁷¹ Grousset, *Histoire*, vol. 3, p. 672.

¹⁷² *RA*, vol. 6, p. 189, n. 982.

¹⁷³ The amount was unspecified. *RA*, vol. 7, p. 130, n. 127.

evidence in 1276 that Maria was poor (perhaps due to the shipwreck), but equally possible that the money was given in prelude to the eventual exchange of Maria's claim to the throne.¹⁷⁴

Maria had come to the West to make her claim known to the Roman Curia, although of course there was no pope present until Gregory's arrival in the beginning of 1272. Maria complained to the new pope that he had written to Hugh of Lusignan as the king of Jerusalem. This had to have been a non-extant letter written before the abovementioned one that Gregory had sent on 17 April 1272¹⁷⁵ to announce that Thomas was the new patriarch of Jerusalem and apostolic legate in the Holy Land, since Gregory's letter in response to Maria's complaint was dated 13 April 1272.¹⁷⁶ Gregory assured Maria that in calling Hugh the king of Jerusalem:

It was not our intention, just as neither it ought to be nor appear, that by this form of address or denomination in our letter hitherto placed, or in the future perhaps placed, that a prejudice should be produced for you, whither to the realm of Jerusalem, that you claim to consider for yourself.¹⁷⁷

Clearly it was prudent of Gregory to warn Maria that the term 'king of Jerusalem' might be applied to Hugh again in the future, since he did so only four days after his letter to her! Gregory took his time to investigate Maria's claim, which may indicate the delicacy of the situation, or that he did not take it particularly seriously; given Gregory's fastidiousness, it was probably the former. He did not write to the archbishop of Nazareth, and the bishops of Bethlehem and Baniyas, until 24 October 1272.¹⁷⁸ In his letter, he deputed them to investigate the claims of Maria and Hugh. It is interesting that this letter did not include the newly

¹⁷⁴ On Maria's poverty, see Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 223.

¹⁷⁵ *RGX*, n. 10 (*RV37*, f. 7r). Perhaps the non-extant letter was an invitation to the general council.

¹⁷⁶ *RGX*, n. 3 (*RV37*, f. 1v).

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:177.

¹⁷⁸ *RGX*, n. 103 (*RV37*, f. 32v-33r).

elected patriarch of Jerusalem, who arrived in Acre in October 1272, but Gregory had ample opportunity to discuss the situation with Thomas before he left for Acre.

The archbishop and bishops were told that the former patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen, had enjoined the bishop of Lydda to crown Hugh, and when Maria told the bishop of her claim, the bishop scornfully dismissed it, or considered it worthless. Then, ‘according to his own pleasure,’ the bishop ‘was alleged’ to have crowned Hugh the king of Jerusalem *de facto*, since he was not able to crown him *de jure*.¹⁷⁹ Clearly Gregory was laying out the facts as Maria would have presented them to him in person. On William’s choice, Bernard Hamilton wrote that:

In giving his support to Hugh rather than to the lady Mary, the patriarch was acting in a disinterested way, since the presence of a king would undoubtedly diminish his own power in temporal affairs. Yet it was a course of action which the peril of the kingdom made necessary, since what Acre needed above all was a strong military leader and somebody who could co-ordinate Frankish resistance to the Mamluks, which the king of Jerusalem and Cyprus must have seemed capable of doing.¹⁸⁰

As has been demonstrated, it does not seem that Hugh was actually able to take as strong a position as leader as William perhaps hoped he would, and Patriarch Thomas continued to act in a governing role with Hugh on the throne. At any rate, to sort out the claimants’ dispute, Gregory instructed the archbishop and the bishops to investigate the two claims to see which one was valid. They were also told to encourage the king of Cyprus (in this case, not called king of Jerusalem) to represent himself to the papacy, and to lay out his case according to the dictates of reason. They were to report back to him within nine months. Unfortunately, no

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 4:179.

¹⁸⁰ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 274.

record remains of their report if they made one at all, and it seems that it was not these officials who came to the general council.¹⁸¹

Maria presented her claim again at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, and representatives from Hugh of Lusignan came from the East to make the case for him as well. Technically, the papal court did not actually have the power to make a decision on this case, which the *Eracles* noted the cardinal-bishop of Albano, Bonaventure himself, pointed out at the general council. Thus the case was judged to appertain to the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁸² Beyond this, if any sort of judgement were made by the papal court, then it had to have been in favour of Hugh of Lusignan, since Gregory continued to treat him as king of Jerusalem after the council. Hugh's representatives at the council were named in the *Eracles* as the archbishop of Tyre, the bishop of Paphos, John of Grailly (the seneschal of the kingdom), William of Corceles (a Hospitaller), James Vidal, and Enguerrand of Jorini.¹⁸³ Tantalizingly, to this list one might also add a Templar brother named Arnulf, whom the *Eracles* neglected to mention, but who was included in a list of those given secure conduct by Charles of Anjou to go to the Second Council of Lyons.¹⁸⁴ Arnulf is listed in the Angevin chancery records alongside the abovementioned William, James and Enguerrand.¹⁸⁵ The fact that Charles gave the four men secure conduct together seems to indicate that they were travelling together, but since Arnulf was not mentioned in the *Eracles* as having been sent by Hugh to represent him, it is likely that Arnulf was not travelling to the council to plead on behalf of Hugh. Instead, he could have been placed there by Charles in support of Maria, who of course had already been in contact with the Templars. Indeed, the *Eracles* also noted that:

¹⁸¹ Peter Edbury posited that the account of the proceedings from the regency disputes of 1264/6 and 1268 perhaps 'was compiled for Hugh's procurators to lay before Pope Gregory X who, in 1272, had cited Hugh to defend himself at the Curia against the claims of Maria of Antioch.' Edbury, 'Disputed Regency,' p. 3.

¹⁸² *Eracles*, p. 475.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 464.

¹⁸⁴ This Arnulf would not have been the one that was Charles' 'beloved treasurer,' since Pierre-Vincent Claverie has placed his death in 1269: *Ordre du Temple*, vol. 1, p. 90.

¹⁸⁵ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 136, n. 224. This is also included in *CG*, vol. 3, p. 303, n. 3528, with the date of 14 January 1274, as well as in *Actes et lettres de Charles*, p. 198-9, n. 716, with a date of 16 January.

Lady Maria (who had always been pursuing the court because she had always put debate to the kingdom of Jerusalem and demanded it as her very own inheritance) had already very well fully [taken] this step through Templar messengers, who had come to King Charles in order to hasten him to do it, and who for a long time had been speaking of making a gift to the said King Charles of the right that she had to the said kingdom.¹⁸⁶

Thus, the relationship between Maria, the Templars, and Charles is made even clearer, with no evidence that Gregory was involved.

The Relationship between Gregory and Charles

The relationship between Gregory and Charles has been a point of contention, and must be addressed in order to understand to what degree they could have worked together, considering that they are alleged to have colluded to gain the throne for Charles. Runciman wrote without explanation that Gregory did not seem to like Charles very much, although Gregory's nephew, whom he later raised to cardinal, 'had worked as a judge for Charles in Provence and had been raised by him to be archbishop of Aix.'¹⁸⁷ The only indication that Gregory had a problem with Charles came from the contemporary Saba Malaspina, who wrote that the pope had written to Charles before the general council about unrest in Sicily, but he did so 'with fatherly affection.'¹⁸⁸ Afterwards, Gregory was grieved by Charles' detaining of the Templar and Hospitaller shipments, but this stoppage did not last at least for the Templars, and there is no reason to think that Gregory's grief did either. Gregory's alleged aversion to Charles does not seem to be true, and in fact the connections between Gregory's family and Charles ran even deeper than just Gregory's nephew, Visconte Visconti, the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence and later cardinal-bishop of Palestrina. But in

¹⁸⁶ *Eracles*, p. 475. See Appendix A, 4:186.

¹⁸⁷ Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 150.

¹⁸⁸ 'Affectu patris allouitur.' Malaspina, *Chronik*, p. 245.

any case, just because Gregory and Charles did get along does not mean that Gregory would have risked the peace of Christendom to put Charles on the throne of Jerusalem.

Although Gregory frustrated Charles' plans to attack the Byzantines, this did not prevent Charles from making use of Gregory's relatives in various roles. The chancery records indicate that Charles employed William and Henry Visconti, nephews of the pope, in several different positions as soon as the pope had been elected, and perhaps even before. He prevailed on them in 1271 or 1272 to help protect the goods of Henry Contardi, a citizen of Genoa.¹⁸⁹ At the same time, Charles gave Henry Visconti over 480 *livres* for unspecified reasons, although perhaps this was in compensation for the protection of Henry Contardi's goods.¹⁹⁰ Charles also conceded to Henry and William Visconti an annual provision of 40 ingots of gold for the possession of a land fief, and later gave 'a certain amount of money' to Henry.¹⁹¹ The fief in question was that which Charles conceded to Henry and William Visconti, and their heirs: the castle of Mistretta and manor of Tripi in Sicily. They were to keep them so long as they acted to their improvement.¹⁹² In 1272 or 1273, Charles then asked William Visconti, 'nephew of the lord pope,' to be rector of the duchy of Spoleto in order to defend it from rebellion against the Church.¹⁹³ In September 1275, Charles ordered William to receive the rebels back into the realm, because their ban had been lifted by the Church.¹⁹⁴ Following in March 1276, Charles sent William, 'knight and blood brother,' to Lombardy 'for carrying out certain difficult tasks of his.'¹⁹⁵ This was after Pope Gregory had died, and Charles had no need to curry his favour for the throne.

¹⁸⁹ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 104, n. 76.

¹⁹⁰ *RA*, vol. 8, p. 105, n. 81.

¹⁹¹ '*Quandam pecunie quantitatem*' *RA*, vol. 8, p. 131-2, n. 140, p. 161, n. 356. This was followed in 1274 or 1275 by giving Henry and William 24 ingots of gold in perpetuity for a fief. *RA*, vol. 12, p. 148, n. 7.

¹⁹² *RA*, vol. 9, p. 41, n. 111, p. 80, n. 45.

¹⁹³ '*Domini Pape nepotem.*' *RA*, vol. 10, p. 100, n. 403, vol. 12, p. 190, n. 3.

¹⁹⁴ *RA*, vol. 13, p. 50, n. 41.

¹⁹⁵ '*Milites et consanguinus.*' '*Pro exequendis quibusdam arduis negotiis suis.*' *RA*, vol. 13, p. 168, n. 477.

One of the more interesting connections between Gregory and Charles was a certain ‘Gregory Visconti,’ a knight from Piacenza, who was in Charles’ service. As early as 1270, Charles had written to Provence so that this Gregory, a knight, could get his pay.¹⁹⁶ After 1274, he served as Charles’ vicar of Marseilles,¹⁹⁷ as well as vicar of Tarascon (northwest of Marseilles),¹⁹⁸ and vicar of Grasse (northeast of Marseilles).¹⁹⁹ This young Gregory Visconti was never linked directly to Pope Gregory, as Visconte, William, and Henry had been. He was, however, mentioned concurrently with the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, Visconte Visconti, so they were almost certainly related. Perhaps decorum linked to illegitimacy prevented the outright naming of Gregory Visconti as related to Pope Gregory. Charles also ordered this Gregory, vicar of Marseilles, to prevent the sale of goods to the Muslims, because Pope Gregory had ordered this for the good of the crusade movement.²⁰⁰

As Jean Dunbabin wrote, ‘Charles was always willing to give jobs to the relatives of those from whom he had already obtained good service.’²⁰¹ This was certainly true, and there is a complex web of relationships connecting Pope Gregory, Charles, and many of the major players in this period. Like Charles, Gregory rewarded those close to him, and this included those close to Charles. Gregory put Fulk of Podio Riccardi, whom Charles and the cardinals had sent to tell Gregory of his election, in charge of the march of Ancona in May 1272, very soon after Gregory was made pope.²⁰² The other election messenger, the Templar Stephen of Syse, later acted as a messenger for Gregory.²⁰³ One of the brothers of Thomas, the patriarch of Jerusalem, was Giovanni of Lentini, who served Charles as vice-admiral of Sicily and

¹⁹⁶ *Actes et lettres de Charles*, p. 46, n. 186.

¹⁹⁷ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 335, n. 301, p. 335-6, n. 302, p. 337, n. 311.

¹⁹⁸ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 305, n. 190, p. 324, n. 264.

¹⁹⁹ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 365, n. 403, p. 366, n. 409, p. 375-6, n. 445.

²⁰⁰ This will be discussed in more detail in chapter six. *RA*, vol. 11, p. 315, n. 223. See also *Actes et lettres de Charles*, p. 220, n. 775.

²⁰¹ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 122.

²⁰² *RGX*, n. 167, 168, 169, & 171 (*RV37*, f. 53v-54r).

²⁰³ *RGX*, n. 235 (*RV37*, f. 81r).

Calabria.²⁰⁴ For Charles, the patriarch himself had, according to Dunbabin, ‘played a valuable role in the defeat of Conradin and subsequently regularly witnessed royal charters. Gregory X’s decision in 1272 to translate [Thomas] to the patriarchate of Jerusalem must have been a serious blow to Charles.’²⁰⁵ It may not have been so serious a blow as Dunbabin believed. If Thomas were so close to Charles, perhaps it was quite useful for him to have someone in the Holy Land whom he could trust. Indeed, as mentioned above, the patriarch had been in contact with Charles to give information about the Holy Land. Another of Thomas’ brothers, Raymond, was archbishop of Messina under Charles.²⁰⁶ A potential association between Charles and Thomas should not be taken too far, especially in the case of Charles taking the throne of Jerusalem. Thomas had actually tried to convince Hugh of Lusignan to come back to Acre when he abandoned the city in 1276.²⁰⁷ If Thomas were really working with Charles, or at least in support of him, he probably would not have minded Hugh’s departure.

Gregory’s Role in the Exchange of the Throne of Jerusalem

One of the most overlooked pieces of the puzzle in the debate over Gregory’s role in the exchange of the throne of Jerusalem is a letter dated at the end of 1275, which Gregory sent to Charles.²⁰⁸ It shows that Gregory placed peace in Christendom above all else so that his crusade could move forward. Since unseating Hugh of Lusignan would have caused conflict, Gregory was against it. Gregory’s opinion on unseating Hugh in Cyprus is thus a good indication of how he likely felt about unseating him in Jerusalem, since Gregory himself connected them in his letter. It is clear that at the end of 1275, just before Gregory

²⁰⁴ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 122.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 148.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 149.

²⁰⁷ Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 226. *Eracles*, p. 474.

²⁰⁸ Peter Edbury mentioned the letter briefly: Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 36. It can be found in *RGX*, n. 832 (*RV29A*, f. 169v-170r), as well as Raynaldus, *Annales*, p. 248. See Appendix A, 4:208. My thanks go to Martin Hall and Susan Edgington for help with translating this letter.

died, he still upheld the view that Hugh of Lusignan was the king of Jerusalem, and there is no indication that Gregory was planning to take his throne away.

In the letter, Gregory explicitly warned Charles of Anjou not to help Hugh of Brienne (who was in service to Charles) invade the kingdom of Cyprus to unseat Hugh of Lusignan. Gregory's address to Charles is here included in detail not only because Gregory's own words explain things clearly, but because the letter was very well-written, with particular passion. He wrote to Charles that:

It is abundantly clear that that modest bit of the Holy Land which Christianity still holds lies open to huge dangers principally because, drained of wealth and bereft of the assistance of soldiers, it not only falls short of the defence of what it has when the forces of its inhabitants are brought together by the unity of reconciliation, but there is still a shortfall even through reliance on others. So what if it were to be exposed to the rifts of feuds? Once riches fall away through them, surely they will not accumulate from their drained condition? When strong things are weakened, surely in their weak state they will not recover their health? Surely it seems in every way to be more an assumption than a potential concern that it will not stay standing under a mass of internal feuding, since faced with claims from outside Cyprus it will be hard pressed to remain firm in its security of internal harmony.²⁰⁹

Therefore, Gregory told Charles that it was 'not without cause' that the plan of Hugh of Brienne to invade the kingdom of Cyprus 'disturbs our mind with great anxiety.' Gregory was worried:

Lest this very count, by laying the aforesaid kingdom open to the dividing force of massive disruption by invading it like this, is exposing to the hands of its enemies that state of Christian brotherhood of the past reconstituted in that region, as is our current

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

hope through God's almighty power. When two parties are in contention, a third who is hostile to both will fish in the troubled waters.²¹⁰

Gregory had just healed the schism with the Greeks, although it was still very tenuous, since the Greek emperor had only agreed to the union to prevent Charles from attacking Byzantium. Cyprus was largely Greek, and would have been a good staging point for an attack on Byzantine territory. Gregory therefore warned Charles against the plan, and wanted the king to use his own influence with Hugh of Brienne to stop the plan from happening:

In respect of winning back Hugh of Brienne's right to the throne, the count himself should cut off all hope of recovering that right which, as he claims, the judicial system is proceeding to restore to him. So we sincerely beseech your highness, and we urge you laying this injunction upon you for the remission of your sins, that you absolutely block this plan of the said count, and do not allow it to be put into effect in any degree, for fear that through the dissensions within Christendom itself the forces of the enemies of the cross may gather strength at such great confusion over the name of "Christian", and the route to liberating the land in question through the pious decisions of the council would be completely cut short.²¹¹

Gregory's impassioned plea gives every indication that he had no intention of supporting the removal of Hugh from the kingdom of Cyprus, and even more, that he had no desire for the peace of Christendom to be disturbed by internal wars. Therefore, any notion that it was Gregory who encouraged Charles to buy Maria's claim to the throne of Jerusalem must be discounted once and for all.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

It is clear that Charles' interest in the Holy Land existed even before Gregory became pope, and it continued under Gregory's pontificate. Charles' supply of the Holy Land had become a crucial part of the survival of the Latin East, and meant that he had significant influence there, which he did not hesitate to use. For his part, Gregory acknowledged that the Latin East was lacking a strong government, but he never gave any indication that he wanted to remove Hugh from the throne in favour of Charles. Throughout his papal reign, Gregory and his papal legate Thomas consistently treated Hugh as king of Jerusalem. There is no proof that Gregory even believed Maria of Antioch's claim was better than Hugh's, let alone proof that the pope wanted Charles to buy that claim. Gregory gave every indication that peace in Christendom was of the utmost importance, thus it is a near certainty that he would have wanted nothing to do with Charles' plan to take the throne of Jerusalem.

In March 1277, more than a year after Pope Gregory X had died, Charles purchased Maria's rights to the throne of Jerusalem for 4,000 *livres tournois* a year, plus 10,000 Saracen bezants a year from Acre.²¹² Charles then sent Roger of San Severino to govern the kingdom for him.²¹³ Giving up for the time being in the face of opposition from the Templars, Venetians, and Charles, Hugh of Lusignan had left for Cyprus. Bernard Hamilton wrote that 'this change of government was, on the whole, beneficial to Frankish Syria, for Sicily was the nearest great western power to the Holy Land, her ruler was on friendly terms with the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, and his rule afforded the best protection for which the Franks could hope in the absence of a new crusade.'²¹⁴ Given Charles' extensive furnishing of the Holy Land with supplies from his own kingdom of Sicily, this may have some credence, but the

²¹² Riley-Smith, *Feudal*, p. 223.

²¹³ According to the *Gestes*, Roger came with letters from the pope, who would have been John XXI, but on this point, Crawford has rightly noted that the idea that the papal court had given Charles the throne was a fabrication spread by Charles' agents. *Gestes*, p. 783. 'Templar,' p. 74.

²¹⁴ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 277.

fact that Charles himself was yet another absentee king meant that the Holy Land still lacked a strong central governing force on the ground, which had been Gregory's concern from the very time he took the papal office.

POLITICAL EXIGENCIES AND GREGORY'S CRUSADE

Chapter Five

Introduction: Gregory's Crusading Priorities

There is no way of knowing with absolute certainty what Gregory's crusading priorities would have been had he been forced to deal with, say, the Cathar heresy, or a hostile Holy Roman emperor, as other popes had before him. These conflicts had taken equal footing with the Holy Land in the past, and had more than once absorbed the efforts of the papacy. But they were a non-issue in Gregory's time. However, there had been other substantial theatres for crusade that had taken up significant resources and time: crusades against the Byzantines, crusades against 'pagans,' and the Iberian reconquest. These continued to confront the papacy during Gregory's time. At least in these cases, one may see how Gregory aligned his crusading priorities. The traditional position on this in the historiography has been that Gregory was wholly devoted to the Holy Land crusade. This has been endorsed by Burkhard Roberg, who wrote that 'the pilgrim's spirituality pointed him to the *Terra Sancta* and so Tedaldo/Gregory later tried to give that direction back to the whole crusade movement.'¹ Likewise, Palmer Throop has noted that 'the astute pope could not be easily turned aside from his supreme aim: the recovery of the Holy Land.'² Gatto accepted 'chronicle evidence' that 'Gregory X identified the cause of the Holy Land with the very purpose of his life.'³ Schein added that 'until his death he preserved a vivid recollection of Jerusalem and worked for its recovery. His genuine devotion to the cause of the Holy Land

¹ Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 25.

² Throop, *Criticism*, p. 112.

³ Gatto did not point out to which chronicle he was referring. Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 99.

became the basis of this whole policy. [...] Indeed Gregory X's obsession with sending a crusade there is unequalled in any pope save Innocent III.⁴

Gregory devoted so much energy to organising aid for the Holy Land during his papacy that it would seem at first glance that he had neither the interest nor the time for crusading anywhere else. Indeed, when pressed by Bruno of Olomouc to direct the crusade towards the pagans of north-eastern Europe (ostensibly because it would benefit his patron, King Ottokar of Bohemia), Gregory responded unfavourably. Direct evidence is lacking on the pope's response, but given the direction of Gregory's crusading efforts, it seems reasonable for Throop to point out that Bruno's motives behind his recommendation for crusading in the northeast 'must have left Gregory X unmoved in his determination to put the welfare of the Holy Land above all other considerations.'⁵ Gregory was also not in favour of a new crusade against the Byzantines, given his work at reconciliation with Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Greek Church. Deno Geanakoplos' *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West* remains a valuable text on this aspect of Gregory's papacy, and he wrote that 'while desisting therefore from an outright demand for Angevin disarmament, and, in particular, permitting Charles to maintain his offensive positions in Epirus and Achaia, Gregory nonetheless insisted to Charles on the absolute pre-eminence of negotiations for union.'⁶ With the denial of crusade in the northeast, and the negotiations with the Greeks taking priority over Charles' crusading hopes, Gregory had limited the crusading options in favour of that to the Holy Land.

On the surface, it would also seem that Gregory did not have much time or interest for the crusade in Iberia. This notion is supported by the fact that there are no extant letters from the early part of his reign in which he even mentioned crusading in Iberia. Gregory had also

⁴ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 20-1.

⁵ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 114.

⁶ Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 241.

modelled his crusading decree *Constitutiones pro Zelo fidei* in part on the work of Pope Innocent III, who, as Powell has noted, had actually:

Revoked the indulgences previously accorded to those who aided the *Reconquista* in Spain and the ongoing war against the Albigensian heretics in southern France on the grounds that recent successes on both fronts made them unnecessary, but he hastened to add that he was willing to reassess his position whenever a change might require it.⁷

On this part, however, Gregory differed from Innocent. As will be demonstrated, Gregory was open to crusading in Iberia even before the Marinid invasion of 1275 would have forced him to reassess any position against it. In point of fact, Gregory was not so single-minded that he would not bend his plans for the Holy Land when necessity arose. Throop has written that ‘to secure Alfonso’s renunciation to his [imperial] claims, Gregory promised him the six years crusade title of his kingdom to be used in a crusade against the Saracens of Spain. This was Gregory’s one capitulation to the policy of diverting crusading force from the Holy Land.’⁸ This was an important exception, since, as Schein has rightly pointed out, Gregory had been taking pains to prevent the commutation of vows to the Holy Land.⁹ Beyond Throop’s passing remarks, this important crusade policy point for Gregory’s papacy has been left unexamined. Given the extremely fragile nature of the Holy Land in this time – which was acknowledged by Gregory, and is not merely known through the hindsight of the historian – the ‘diversion’ of crusading force, to use Throop’s terminology, needs explanation.

In fact, Gregory saw crusading efforts in Iberia as part of the greater effort to support the Holy Land. He gave the same indulgence for crusading in Iberia as he gave to crusaders

⁷ Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 21. Throop and Housley have noted debt that Gregory X owed to Innocent III’s Fourth Lateran Council measures, as well as to Innocent IV and Gregory IX. Throop, *Criticism*, p. 237. Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 12. This point is explained in more depth, however, by Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 206-7.

⁸ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 255-6.

⁹ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 263.

to the Holy Land.¹⁰ Ultimately, Gregory had made the crusades in the Holy Land and against the Muslims of Iberia and North Africa of equal importance. They were equal, in fact, because in his opinion they were connected to the same ultimate goal: to rescue the Holy Land itself. Though Gregory differed somewhat from Innocent III, his own policy was not without precedent. Charles Bishko has pointed out:

From Urban II's time on, innumerable bulls of indulgence [...] equated in importance and spiritual privileges anti-Moorish combat in Spain with that against the Saracens of Palestine, while they prohibited (not always successfully) Spaniards and Portuguese from enlisting in eastern expeditions, on the grounds of prior need for their services at home; and the popes, not infrequently under royal pressure, conceded peninsular monarchs tenths or other fractions of their kingdoms' ecclesiastical revenues as reconquest subsidies.¹¹

More recent work by William Purkis and Patrick O'Banion on the crusade in Iberia in the twelfth century has even put forward the idea that an Iberian route to the Holy Land was conceived.¹² However, none of Gregory X's letters conflating the importance of crusade in Iberia and the Holy Land give any indication that Iberian crusaders were to form part of a pincer movement on the Holy Land in concert with other crusade leaders. It appears that the Iberian crusade, though considered equal in importance, as well as beneficial for the Holy Land (as will be discussed), was not seen as a way to reach the Holy Land in Gregory's time.

Gregory took partial hold of the reins to direct the crusade in Iberia by channelling money raised from the tenth levied at Lyons to King Alfonso X of Castile and Archbishop Sancho in Iberia, and by redirecting Prince Emmanuel, brother of Alfonso, from his intended crusade to the Holy Land. Although it must be noted that Gregory's Iberian crusade policy

¹⁰ *RGX*, n. 629 (*RV37*, f. 236r-237r).

¹¹ Charles Julian Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095-1492,' ed. Harry W. Hazard & Kenneth M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Madison, 1975), p. 399.

¹² See William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 120-178. Patrick J. O'Banion, 'What Has Iberia to Do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century,' *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), p. 383-95.

was given impetus by the need to stop the invasion of Castile by the North African Marinids, allied with the Iberian kingdom of Granada, Gregory's own letters indicate that he was open to a crusade against the Marinids even before this invasion became a reality. In this respect, it is clear that Gregory was not simply sending the crusade to Iberia because he had to react to an invasion. However, Alfonso's claim to the empire cannot be removed from the equation. Throop has oversimplified the matter by arguing that Gregory promised Alfonso the tenth of Lyons for his kingdoms as a way of securing his renunciation of the empire. It certainly acted in this way, but this was not the only reason. The pope was not so cynical or lacking in devotion to the Holy Land that he ever placed its rescue in anything but the premier position. Gregory believed that by fighting the Muslims in Iberia, he was helping the Holy Land itself.¹³ Thus, giving Alfonso some of the tenth from Lyons should not simply be seen as a bribe, although satisfying Alfonso over the empire was crucial to establishing the necessary peaceful conditions for a crusade. Indeed, this chapter will argue that the election of an emperor was tied closely with the crusade, and that Gregory's obsession with launching a crusade was having an effect on internal European politics.

Historiographical Background

Gregory's Iberian crusade cannot be discussed without reference to the imperial succession, since the matters were interlinked in the figure of Alfonso. This chapter, therefore, first seeks to set the context in Iberia and the empire in which Gregory's decisions on the crusade and the imperial succession would be made. Surprisingly little work has been done on the imperial succession during Gregory's papacy by scholars not more narrowly focused on Iberia, and Alfonso in particular. Studying this question from such a one-sided

¹³ This will be discussed in more detail below. *RGX*, n. 838 (*RV29A*, f. 171r-171v). *RGX*, n. 649 (*RV37*, f. 244v).

perspective has led at least one scholar, Cayetano J. Soccaras, to take a clearly nationalistic view. He has not attempted to balance Gregory's denial of the throne to Alfonso with the historical context, and rather has fallen clearly on the side of the disappointed Castilian king.¹⁴ Joseph F. O'Callaghan's more recent study was more balanced, and did not seek to blame Gregory for Alfonso's disappointment.¹⁵ Nevertheless, O'Callaghan was producing a biography of Alfonso, and was not interested in analysing the implications of the Iberian crusade on the larger crusading movement. Thus, he did not set out to analyse Gregory's policy decisions within the framework of a Holy Land crusade, which was always at the top of Gregory's list of priorities. The same can be said for Peter Linehan, who gave Gregory's motivations a very brief treatment, basing his analysis simply on Alfonso's own perception of the case. Thus he repeated Alfonso's notion of 'how little consideration Gregory had given to the merits of the case and the deserts of him and his ancestors.'¹⁶ Given that this struggle lasted from the time of Richard of Cornwall's death in April 1272 to Alfonso's renunciation of his claim in mid-1275, and that Gregory was involved with all competing parties in that time, it can hardly be said that Gregory did not give the case due consideration, even if he did not favour Alfonso in particular. Lastly, the most recent Spanish biography on Alfonso, by Salvador Martínez, made an attempt at a balanced approach, first writing that 'neither of the two chosen as "king of the Romans", Alfonso of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, deserved papal support.'¹⁷ But after the death of Richard, Martínez depicted Gregory as an active force in the selection of Rudolph of Habsburg, wrongly writing that the pope gave his immediate approval to the election.¹⁸ In fact, his approval had to wait almost a year. Again, Gregory was depicted as not giving due consideration to the election, when quite the opposite was true.

¹⁴ Cayetano J. Soccaras, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona, 1975), p. 241-2.

¹⁵ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 212.

¹⁶ Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157-1300: A Partible Inheritance* (Malden & Oxford, 2008), p. 169.

¹⁷ H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una Biografía* (Madrid, 2003), p. 205.

¹⁸ Martínez, *Alfonso X*, p. 208.

The Iberian perspective aside, there is very little scholarship on the life of Rudolph of Habsburg, Alfonso's rival to the throne of king of the Romans after the death of Richard of Cornwall and Rudolph's subsequent election at the end of September 1273. Rudolph no doubt has fallen victim to the greater fame of the imperial successors to his dynasty, but it is clear that more work needs to be done to bring the father of the Habsburg dynasty to life. Unfortunately, that is outside of the purview of this thesis. Burkhard Roberg gave a short treatment on the discussion of Rudolph's election at the general council.¹⁹ Given that he was focused on what happened at the council alone, there is no discussion of Gregory's negotiations with Alfonso and Rudolph in 1275 – the year in which Alfonso renounced his claim and returned to fight the Muslims in Iberia, and in which Rudolph was crowned by Gregory and took up the cross. More depth on Rudolph himself, however, can be found in the most recent monograph on him by Karl-Friedrich Krieger – though he borrowed from Roberg's work for his discussion of Gregory's pontificate.²⁰

Ludovico Gatto devoted an excellent chapter to the coronation of Rudolph and the imperial question in his Italian work on Gregory's pontificate.²¹ Gatto has given the most detailed study of the imperial question to date, but has gone to the opposite extreme of the historians of Iberia by not fleshing out the political situation in Iberia at all, though he did give a full treatment of Alfonso's direct involvement in the empire. The exclusion of a discussion of the political situation in Iberia is an all-too-common problem among medieval historians of the Crusades. Of course, admirable work has been done on the Iberian reconquest, but these studies are often done in isolation of other crusades, even though the popular 'pluralist' school in crusade studies would have the struggles outside of the Holy Land included under the umbrella of 'crusades.' To be fair, Gatto's investigation of the

¹⁹ Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 357-371.

²⁰ Karl-Friedrich Krieger, *Rudolf von Habsburg* (Darmstadt, 2003). See, for example, Krieger's discussion of Gregory X's election and devotion to the Holy Land, which depends upon Roberg: p. 89 & 116.

²¹ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 163-210.

German element to the imperial question, and that of the papal curia, is very thorough. But a study of Gregory's position on the imperial question cannot be separated from his crusading plans in both the Holy Land *and* Iberia.

To gain a fuller picture, one must not ignore the peripheries of Europe by looking narrowly at the politics surrounding northern Italy, as Gatto has done. To this end, this chapter will attempt first to draw a sketch of the political situation in the empire and especially Iberia during Gregory's pontificate. With this established, it argues that the potential for trouble in Iberia from the kingdom of Granada or the North African Marinids was very likely known by Gregory even before the 1275 invasion, and thus his crusading plans in Iberia and North Africa were not simply the result of a reaction to invasion. Instead, Gregory saw the crusade in Iberia as connected to that in the Holy Land, and took active steps to advance the crusade in Iberia during his pontificate. Although Gregory gave the election to the kingship of the Romans due consideration, Alfonso could not have been an appropriate candidate in his eyes for the imperial title or for participating in the crusade to the Holy Land, since the fight against the Muslims in Iberia was not over, and Alfonso would be needed there.

Iberia and Empire at the Beginning of Gregory's Papacy

In the first years of his papal tenure, Gregory set about securing immediate interim aid for the Holy Land, with an aim to launching a general passage there in the near future, as has been discussed in chapter three. In none of the correspondence from the early years of his papacy does Gregory give any indication of support for a crusade in Iberia. But this does not mean that he was closed to the idea. It is debatable whether there was, in fact, a pressing need for a crusade in Iberia at the beginning of Gregory's reign at all, which would easily explain

its absence in Gregory's early letters. The efforts at reconquest had been going well in King Alfonso's reign in Castile. There had been an uprising in 1264 of Muslims living under his rule, but this had been suppressed.²² Alfonso had also secured a treaty with the kingdom of Granada in 1267, in which the king of Granada would renew his vassalage to Castile (though this treaty would be relatively short-lived).²³ The situation appeared so secure in Iberia that Alfonso had actually mused in a letter to his eldest son Fernando in May or June 1273 that he believed the Marinid emir of Morocco, Abu Yusuf, to be unable to cross over to Iberia. Alfonso noted that the emir 'has many wars with Morocco, where they claim he is not their lord, and another with Gomarazán, who wages war against him in the land, and another because he is very despised.'²⁴ Alfonso believed that Abu Yusuf would not be able to muster the naval and food sources for a significant campaign.²⁵ There had been rumours that the Marinids were indeed able to do this, but Alfonso (quite wrongly) dismissed them, since 'it is a custom among the Moors to write skilful and false letters and to send them to each other in order to obtain some advantages for themselves.'²⁶ Even when Alfonso's rebellious noblemen told him that the Moors were preparing themselves for an attack, Alfonso dismissed them as 'false things.'²⁷ In any case, Alfonso believed that Fernando's troops were more numerous, and of better quality than those of the Muslims, so he thought that he need not worry about an attack from them.²⁸

Alfonso was blinding himself about his problems in Iberia for the sake of pursuing his imperial ambitions. For Gregory's part, even though he was aware by the end of 1272 that not all was well in Iberia, as will be shown below, it was not possible to turn Alfonso's mind

²² Bishko, 'Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest,' p. 434.

²³ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 189.

²⁴ This letter was included in the *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, trans. Shelby Thacker & José Escobar (Lexington, 2002), p. 167.

²⁵ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 168. See also Linehan, *Spain*, p. 170.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

away from the empire. Alfonso's obsession with the empire provides the source of Gregory's only extant letters to him in the earlier part of his papacy. The empire was, after all, named by Alfonso himself to be 'the greatest,' and was said by his chronicler to be 'something he coveted very much.'²⁹ To set the context: Alfonso gained his claim after the death of the anti-emperor William of Holland in 1256. Alfonso, of Hohenstaufen lineage through his mother, who was a child of Philip of Swabia, was then elected as king of the Romans. But, Richard of Cornwall had also been elected by another faction. Richard actually made the trip to Germany and was crowned, while Alfonso never did, though he maintained his claim even until the era of Pope Gregory X. Thus, Gregory wrote to Alfonso in September 1272 to respond to his requests that the pope name the day on which Alfonso would receive the crown, and that the pope prevent the electors from electing anyone else, since Richard of Cornwall had died in April 1272, and Alfonso thought himself now unopposed.³⁰ Showing a *balanced* approach, Gregory told Alfonso that, as pope, he would not be able to disallow any new election without causing a serious scandal.³¹ He also reminded Alfonso that an injustice would be done to Charles of Anjou, vicar of Tuscany, if Alfonso's petitions were granted, since Charles would have to be removed from that position.³²

Clearly, Gregory was not interested in disrupting relations with Charles, who, as discussed in chapter four, had been assisting the pope in providing transportation to the Holy Land for Patriarch Thomas, and was frequently sending food supplies there. Giving into Alfonso's demands would certainly have made a mess of Gregory's relations with the Sicilian king, since Charles would need to be removed from his positions in the north of Italy. Those positions were, after all, imperial holdings. Even though in both of Gregory's letters to Alfonso in 1272 he did give him the title 'elect' king of the Romans, it is clear that the pope

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166 & 173.

³⁰ *RGX*, n. 192 (*RV37*, f. 57r-58r).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

was not in favour in Alfonso's claim to that title, nor to the imperial title after that, since he was not going to do anything to prevent the election of a new king of the Romans. This is not to say that Gregory treated Alfonso unfairly, as Soccaras claimed, but in the long-term, a new election had the potential to produce a more suitable candidate for ruling northern Italy and joining the crusade to the Holy Land than a king based in Castile, even if in the short-term Gregory would have to deal with Alfonso's disappointment and potential wrath.

Although Gregory looked foremost to the French for commitment to the Holy Land at the beginning of his papacy, he still had been casting a wide net by writing not only to the kings of France and Sicily, but also to Lord Edward and the maritime powers of Italy and Marseilles. It is significant that there are no such letters directed to Alfonso in this time.³³ Instead, in his dealings with Alfonso, Gregory was forced to focus on the imperial question, at the expense of crusade planning and the security of Alfonso's own kingdom. Indeed, Gregory told Alfonso in his second extant letter, dated in October 1272, that he was delaying a response to his petitions, and that he was, in fact, 'fearing the dangers of your kingdom.'³⁴ Alfonso persisted in his claims. Gregory's fears were founded on what were in fact the most pressing problems confronting Alfonso at the time. The real problems in Iberia in the first couple of years of Gregory's reign actually came from Alfonso's very own barons, not least one of Alfonso's lifelong friends, Nuño González of Lara.³⁵ In general, increasing monarchical authority had led some leading nobles, including Nuño, into rebellion in 1272, the year that Gregory came to the papal throne. During the revolt, Nuño and some of the

³³ There were no such letters directed to James of Aragon either, but the reasons for this have been discussed previously in chapter three.

³⁴ '*Regni tui pericula [...] metuentes*' *RGX*, n. 200 (*RV37*, f. 62v-63r).

³⁵ Relations between Alfonso and some of his barons had deteriorated due to Alfonso's shift to using officials from the middle-ranked nobility, since they would be easier to control than the more powerful barons, as well as due to his debasing of the coinage, which had caused economic problems. Simon R. Doubleday, *The Lara Family: Crown and Nobility in Medieval Spain* (Cambridge & London, 2001), p. 72 & 74. These problems are also detailed here: *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 93-4.

other barons had allied themselves with the Muslim kingdom of Granada.³⁶ This does not, however, seem to have become anything more than a local problem, and there are no letters from the papacy indicating any more concern about the issue than that noted above in Gregory's October 1272 letter. Alfonso's father-in-law, King James of Aragon, held talks with Alfonso and sent an army, but peace was made within a year. The rebels and Alfonso reconciled in mid-1273, and the king of Granada had to pay a two-year tribute to Alfonso for the peace treaty.³⁷ Robert Ignatius Burns has gone so far as to call an incursion from Morocco at this same time 'a small counter-crusade,' but the brief nature of the conflict in 1272-3 meant that the papacy never became involved.³⁸

Based on the surviving evidence, it is not possible to discern how much Gregory knew about the condition of Iberia in his first couple of years as pope, beyond his aforementioned fear of dangers in Alfonso's kingdom. Nevertheless, it should have been clear at least to Alfonso during the rebellion that the Muslims of North Africa were, in fact, capable of launching an assault. Thus, his aforementioned May or June 1273 letter to Prince Fernando seems incongruous with the course of later events. Just a few months later in August 1273 Alfonso wrote to James that he had been told that Abu Yusuf 'was crossing from overseas with great Moorish might, and that if he crossed he could not avoid to fight with him; for this he had need of King James' assistance.'³⁹ There is no evidence that Alfonso sought papal assistance for this problem at the time, lending more support to the idea that this was still seen as a local problem in 1273. Alfonso also might have hesitated to look for help from Gregory because he could lose valuable leverage by showing such weakness

³⁶ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London & New York, 1996), p. 279.

³⁷ Doubleday, *Lara Family*, p. 79.

³⁸ Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, 1973), p. 39.

³⁹ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 187.

and dependence. But Alfonso actually did have plans in this time to take a proactive approach to what might have been called a crusade, given the language employed by his chronicler.

The *Chronicle of Alfonso X* stated that even if Abu Yusuf did not cross over, Alfonso wanted to invade Moorish lands to destroy their agricultural base.⁴⁰ This was also not to be a one-off attack, but rather a sustained war of ‘six or seven’ invasions, ‘in winter as in summer.’⁴¹ If James lent his support ‘for two years, they would serve God and would make the king of Granada deliver the land to them, or it would become unprotected.’⁴² James is said to have responded that if Abu Yusuf crossed and Alfonso had to do battle, he would aid him, although the chronicler did not go so far as to say that James endorsed Alfonso’s proactive approach.⁴³ Given that James was a participant in Gregory’s crusade plans at the Second Council of Lyons, whose invitation had already sent, perhaps James did not want to make a decision on something which was supposed to be decided later at the council. Here, it may very well have been the delay and centralisation of crusade planning under papal power that held back this ‘crusade’ from happening, but more likely it was Alfonso’s obsession with organising his trip to obtain the empire. Given that Alfonso did, in fact, travel to try to gain the empire instead of attacking the Muslims as he suggested to James, it is clear that the empire took priority over this crusade in his mind.

The Election of a New King of the Romans

By the time the general council convened in 1274, Alfonso’s trouble with the rebellion had long since been settled, but in the meantime, Rudolph of Habsburg had been elected as the new king of the Romans. A discussion of this election is important for

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

understanding Gregory's crusading plans, because the pope himself connected the problems that came from the empire to a delay in the business of the Holy Land.⁴⁴ Rudolph's election meant that Gregory's notice to Alfonso that any new election would not be prevented had not been without cause. Goswin von der Ropp has gone so far as to argue that Gregory encouraged the German electors to have a new election. He convincingly posited the existence of a papal letter to the imperial electors encouraging them to make a new election.⁴⁵ Leopold and Richard have also supported this notion.⁴⁶ Gatto agreed, and added that 'certainly, the Cistercian Tebaldo from Ceccano, abbot of Fossanova, sent to the electors by Gregory, was very likely to be the bearer of a message written by the pope to encourage them to elect a new king of the Romans.'⁴⁷ Gatto's evidence is more circumstantial. The source that he cited for Tebaldo's trip to the electors is an early eighteenth century history of the cardinals, which gave no indication of any direct sources for Tebaldo's trip.⁴⁸ The source indicates that Gregory sent Tebaldo to the electors after he had arrived in Lyons, and that Gregory wanted the electors to choose an able king.⁴⁹ Gregory's arrival at Lyons was no later than 4 September 1273, which is the date of his first extant letter from there.⁵⁰ His last extant letter before he reached Lyons was from 28 August 1273, in Saint-Croix.⁵¹ Rudolph was elected in Frankfurt on 29 September 1273. Therefore, Gregory's messenger would have had to travel the approximately 640km between Lyons and Frankfurt with a start date of probably no earlier than 4 September to get there in time to make Gregory's wishes known for the election. This certainly seems possible, although it must remain based on von der Ropp's theory of a letter sent by Gregory in the first place.

⁴⁴ RGX, n. 672 (RV29A, f. 37v-38r).

⁴⁵ Goswin von der Ropp, *Erzbischof Werner von Mainz, ein Beitrag zur deutschen Reichsgeschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1872), p. 72-3.

⁴⁶ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 68. Richard, *Crusades*, p. 437.

⁴⁷ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 175.

⁴⁸ George Joseph Eggs, *Purpura Docta seu Vitae, Legationes, Res Gestae, Obitus, Aliaque Scitu, ac Memoratu Digna, &c. S.R.E. Cardinalium*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1714), p. 218.

⁴⁹ Eggs, *Purpura Docta*, p. 218.

⁵⁰ RGX, n. 338 (RV37, f. 113v).

⁵¹ RGX, n. 337 (RV37, f. 113r-113v).

At the very least, while it is not possible to determine with absolute certainty if Gregory actively sought a new election, it does seem likely. Even before the new election occurred there had been new candidates being offered. Thus, the position must have been seen to be vacant, even with Alfonso still putting his own claims forward. Gregory's lack of support for Alfonso would have helped to make this possible, but it does not appear that Gregory tried to influence *who*, exactly, was chosen in his place. Even so, potential candidates were being put forward to Gregory himself before the election occurred. Charles of Anjou had proposed his nephew King Philip to Gregory for the position.⁵² Langlois has argued that it was Simon of Brie and Ottobono Fieschi who proposed Philip's candidacy.⁵³ Surviving evidence from a meeting between Philip's messengers and Gregory, Simon, Ottobono, and Charles in Florence at Simon's house noted that 'the church has counselled Philip to take the empire.'⁵⁴ This must have led Langlois to assume Simon and Ottobono's support for Philip, but it is clear that at least Gregory had not taken a firm side; indeed, Langlois rightly noted that 'Gregory X gave the messengers an evasive response.'⁵⁵ Martínez wrote that Gregory did not support the candidacy of Philip (and also of Alfonso, Louis of Bavaria, and Ottokar of Bohemia) because he did not believe they were genuinely interested in crusading.⁵⁶ This cannot be the case, since Philip's interest in crusading was evident from very early in Gregory's reign. Nevertheless, the pope seems to have done his best politely to ignore Philip's interest in the empire, in the hope that the matter would go away without having to cause offence. He told Philip that although he held him in the highest regard, and would like him to have the position, it was God's will. Consistent with a hands-off approach

⁵² For a letter outlining Charles' reasons for proposing his nephew for the job, see: *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrites de la bibliothèque royale et des archives ou des bibliothèques des départements*, ed. M. Champollion Figeac, vol. 1 (Paris, 1841), p. 655-6.

⁵³ 'Ottoboni Fieschi (later Adrian V) and Simon de Brie (later Martin IV), informally posed the nomination of Philip the Bold for the Empire.' Langlois, *Règne de Philippe III*, p. 64-5.

⁵⁴ *Documents historiques*, p. 653. See Appendix A, 5:54.

⁵⁵ Langlois, *Règne de Philippe III*, p. 66.

⁵⁶ Martínez, *Alfonso X*, p. 208.

over who would get the crown, Gregory also told Philip that he would hesitate to tell anyone to take the empire when Alfonso was still claiming the title for himself.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Simon of Brie's very own letter to Ottokar of Bohemia in September 1273 showed the cardinal's support for Ottokar's candidacy, not Philip's.⁵⁸ Given Simon's close association with Philip, Simon's support of Ottokar likely indicates that King Philip never took his own nomination very seriously. Charles' hopes for his nephew on the throne were likely just futile optimism on his part for a friendly king or emperor – one who would maintain Charles in his positions of power in northern Italy.

Since the pope was taking pains with Alfonso not to be seen to be involved in the election process, he was not likely to make any preference he may have had public knowledge. Gatto, however, noted that as early as February 1273 Gregory was said to have wanted someone influential.⁵⁹ He cited an article by Harry Bresslau, which reproduced a fragment from the Genoese state archives.⁶⁰ Yet Gatto has taken this source a bit too far. The writer of the fragment was only confident in saying that a high ranking Church official had told him: 'you may write back in reply to your captains securely that the lord pope and the Roman Church want that the emperor be elected and be appointed, but yet he does not want Frederick of Staufa or anyone excommunicated to be emperor.'⁶¹ Gregory's apparent desire not to have this Frederick⁶² as emperor could just as easily have had as much to do with his Hohenstaufen lineage as with his insignificant status, as Krieger has posited.⁶³ It was hard to avoid connections to the Hohenstaufen in Germany though, and even Rudolph of Habsburg was the godson of Emperor Frederick II. But at the very least, there is no indication from this

⁵⁷ *Documents historiques*, p. 653-4.

⁵⁸ *Codex Epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II Bohemiae Regis*, ed. Thomas Dolliner (Vienna, 1803), p. 10-11.

⁵⁹ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 183.

⁶⁰ Harry Bresslau, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Wahl Rudolfs von Habsburg,' ed. E. Mühlbacher, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. 15 (Innsbruck, 1894), p. 60-1.

⁶¹ Bresslau, 'Zur Vorgeschichte,' p. 60. See Appendix A, 5:61.

⁶² His name '*de Staufa*' is potentially a reference to Frederick's Staufen lineage, although he does not come from the patrilineal line. He was the margrave of Meissen, and grandson of Emperor Frederick II through one of the emperor's daughters.

⁶³ Krieger, *Rudolf*, p. 93.

fragment that Gregory was seeking someone ‘influential,’ as Gatto had suggested. Nevertheless, the same source did indicate that Ottokar’s men took this as a sign that his candidature was looked upon favourably. After hearing the above, ‘the messengers of the king of Bohemia withdrew from the curia briskly, among whom is Jacob of Roba de Cremona, who said to us that he was not displeased by the Church, that the king of Bohemia would be elected as king of the Romans by the princes of Germany.’⁶⁴ This fragment, unlike George Egg’s history, is more clearly reliable, since it referenced direct knowledge on the part of the writer.⁶⁵ He also understood the limits of his knowledge, since after noting that he heard that the Genoese might expect to receive freer treatment under the new king, he said that ‘concerning this other thing, we do not know for certain.’⁶⁶

Given the indications of several contenders for the crown of king of the Romans before the election, Gregory must not have been surprised when a new election was announced to him. That the one elected was the relatively middling-powered Rudolph, and not the mighty Ottokar, might have been more of a surprise, if Simon’s letter and the fragment from the Genoese article are any indication of the general expectation that Ottokar would, in fact, prevail. It is likely that Rudolph was chosen by the electoral princes for the very reason that he was a middling power, and thus would be easier to control than the rich and powerful Ottokar of Bohemia. But whoever the candidate was to be, it is clear that he would have to be open to crusading if he wanted to secure the favour of the pope – on this point at least, Martínez had been right. Charles’ letter that put Philip forth for the position is an indication that this was true, since Charles wrote the letter with an attempt to convince Gregory of Philip’s merits. He would not intentionally have written something that Gregory would not have wanted. Since the two had been working together to aid the Holy Land, Charles likely had a reasonable grasp of what Gregory was looking for. Charles wrote that a

⁶⁴ Bresslau, ‘Zur Vorgeschichte,’ p. 60. See Appendix A, 5:64.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 60.

⁶⁶ ‘*De hoc aliud pro certo nescimus.*’ *Ibid*, p. 60-1.

new king of the Romans must not be able to excuse himself from service to God.⁶⁷ He pointed to Philip's crusading pedigree as proof that he came from a family that served God, since his father St Louis had died on crusade, and Philip Augustus had crusaded with Richard the Lionheart.⁶⁸ Charles wrote that after Philip took up the empire to make service to God, he would be able to assemble the strongest knights against the enemies of the faith.⁶⁹ Gatto has discussed these passages, but he did not see the real significance.⁷⁰

The importance of Charles' letter lies in that fact that contenders for the election of the king of the Romans were supporting their candidacies by promising aid to the Holy Land.⁷¹ Indeed, Rudolph of Habsburg and Alfonso of Castile did the same. After Rudolph was elected in September 1273, he wrote for Gregory's blessing. In order to entice the pope to support him, Rudolph wrote that he was:

Carrying with a fervent spirit in the desire of the mind [...] to run to the aid of the Holy Land as much powerfully as patiently, so that the people of God, afflicted and equally compressed for a long time by the enemies of the cross of Christ, may, to the glory of Christ, prevail to visit the sepulchre of the Lord.⁷²

Marino Sanuto also wrote that Alfonso had promised greater aid to the Holy Land to support his candidacy.⁷³ Like the election of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, where he promised on his own initiative to go on crusade, the election to the empire in the 1270s was being linked from its very beginning to the crusade, which must have pleased Gregory very much.⁷⁴ It meant that his crusade agenda was having an effect on the politics of the West.

⁶⁷ 'Il ne se puet escuser de servise Deu faire.' *Documents historiques*, vol. 1, p. 655.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 655. See Appendix A, 5:68.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 656. See Appendix A, 5:69.

⁷⁰ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 172-3.

⁷¹ Leopold has noted this, but also without seeing the real significance: *How to Recover*, p. 68.

⁷² *CER*, p. 23-6, n. 18. See Appendix A, 5:72. On this, see also Gregory's letter to Rudolph, which was probably written at about the same time as the subsequent register letter (670), dated 25 March 1274. *RGX*, n. 669 (*RV29A*, f. 36v-37r).

⁷³ Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 225.

⁷⁴ On Frederick II, see Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 121 & 138.

Gregory did not officially recognise the election of Rudolph until September 1274, when he did so in a meticulous manner consistent with the way he was preparing his crusade, and which probably was intended to show Alfonso that due consideration was being given to the whole process. Using phrasing very similar to his 1272 letter to King Philip about preparation for the business of the Holy Land, on 26 September 1274, Gregory wrote to Rudolph:

Thus long preparation of war habitually produces swift victory; thus the path is hastened urgently while it is prepared with anxious care. This consideration has detained us thus far in the advancement of the imperial business; this has urged us, in the consummation of your high position, to make use of full ripeness; this has suggested various ways to seek out, and diverse remedies to consider, so that, with God supporting, we may as much safely deduce as carefully prepare that which presses. It is permitted not without cause therefore that we have postponed until now. We ascribe the royal title to you, nevertheless, with recent deliberation held with our brothers. We have named you king of the Romans from their counsel.⁷⁵

Gregory was careful to wash his hands of the potential problems coming from this decision by ascribing it to the advice of the cardinals; after all, he still had to deal with Alfonso. In addition, he did not give the imperial title, which would have to wait until Alfonso was placated. Also, the title itself was a useful bargaining tool to ensure that Rudolph went on crusade.⁷⁶ In the meantime, the pope still ascribed Alfonso with the title of ‘elect’ king of the Romans.

With the election of Rudolph – even before Gregory actually approved it – Gregory began to take a harder line on Alfonso. During the council in 1274, the pope sent letters

⁷⁵ *CER*, p. 34-5, n. 27. See Appendix A, 5:75. See also *RGX*, n. 678 (*RV29A*, f. 39v-40r). Gregory used similar language to Philip. After telling Philip that he was delaying an answer to his petitions, so that he could strengthen the business of the Holy Land, Gregory noted to him: ‘with the long preparation of war, one may become accustomed to produce a swift victory.’ *Cum soleat longa belli preparatio celerem afferre victoriam.*’ *RGX*, n. 788 (*RV29A*, f. 157r-157v).

⁷⁶ This will be discussed in chapter six.

asking Alfonso to give up his ambition for the empire, thus the matter must have been settled in the pope's mind a few months before he officially recognised Rudolph. On 11 June, Gregory told Alfonso to do 'not what you want, but what you ought to want' – namely, to give up his quest for the empire.⁷⁷ Considering the election of Rudolph, Alfonso had become a lame duck, but Gregory more importantly pointed out to Alfonso that he wanted him to give up his imperial ambitions because 'great and useful services of God (for which we have convened the council) and chiefly the miserable condition of the Holy Land, in their postponement, deplore the clear and dangerous impediments' that came from Alfonso's continuing struggle.⁷⁸ Gregory did not want to allow political problems in Europe to delay launching his crusade, and indeed, as was seen with the election to the empire, some of the big political decisions that were being made in the West were linked to the aid of the Holy Land. Gregory's task was to carry this momentum through to the fulfillment of his crusade, and guarantee the necessary peaceful conditions.

The Awareness of Oncoming Crisis in Iberia

At the general council, Gregory began actively encouraging Alfonso to crusade, and to give up the empire. He also began to use the benefits of the crusade to help convince him. Alfonso refused to give up. It is, therefore, Alfonso who must shoulder the blame for inaction leading up to the Marinid invasion in 1275, since he devoted his energy to pursuing the empire and not to guarding his kingdom. During the general council in June 1274, Gregory

⁷⁷ 'Non quid velles sed qui velle te decet.' *RGX*, n. 672 (*RV29A*, f. 37v-38r). The letter is undated, but was likely written at the same time as the subsequent letter to Master Frederick, which was dated 11 June 1274. Gregory also used this same line with the disappointed King Ottokar of Bohemia in a 26 September 1274 letter (the same day that he recognized Rudolph as king of the Romans). *RGX*, n. 682 (*RV29A*, f. 40v-41r), also printed in *Regesta Diplomatica nec non Epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, vol. 2 (1253-1310), ed. Joseph Emler (Prague, 1882), p. 378-9.

⁷⁸ *RGX*, n. 672 (*RV29A*, f. 37v-38r). See Appendix A, 5:78.

sent his chaplain, Master Frederick, to Alfonso. The pope gave his chaplain full power to deal with Alfonso:

So that afterwards the king will concede to you the said letters patent, signed by his own seal, through which he himself entirely confesses to desist from the said business of the empire, or freely to place in our hands his disposition to relinquish [it] to the liberty of our arbitration, and to take up the fight of the Saracens in parts of Africa.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, it is safe to believe that Gregory's arbitration even in 1274 would still have been in favour of the newly elected Rudolph of Habsburg, whom Gregory later confirmed as king. With respect to Gregory's crusade policy, the more important consideration in Gregory's letter to Master Frederick was that the pope was allowing, and even encouraging, crusading efforts in 'parts of Africa' while he was at the general council, which, it must be remembered, was to plan the crusade to the Holy Land. At this time, William of Tripoli had actually written in his advice treatise about how small the distance between Africa and Iberia was, and how the Muslims of Morocco sail to Iberia with large armies.⁸⁰ William, as well as Humbert of Romans, pointed out the reconquests that James of Aragon and Alfonso of Castile had made in Iberia.⁸¹ It seems that even William's advice treatise brought to the pope's notice the potential for continuing trouble in Iberia.

Put into the context of Gregory's desire for crusade vows to the Holy Land to be strictly observed, the redirection of crusading force may seem surprising. Gregory wrote to Simon of Brie in the same year as Master Frederick, telling Simon to take a hard line on shirking responsibilities to the Holy Land. He told Simon:

Therefore, wanting to provide for the health of the souls and for the loss of the [Holy] Land concerning these [people who have not fulfilled their vow], we urge you through apostolic letters that all and every man and woman, of whatever rank, status and

⁷⁹ *RGX*, n. 673 (*RV29A*, f. 38r-38v). See Appendix A, 5:79.

⁸⁰ William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 584.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum Tripartitum*, p. 204.

condition may rise up, who, in the same kingdom and other lands of your legation, happen to be discovered so to have taken up the sign of the cross, and afterwards not at all to have passed over the sea; (may they rise up) to the consummation of the vow, announcing publically, and making it to be announced through other obligations, even though they approached Tunis, may you compel them to carry out the outstanding vow personally in aid of the [Holy] Land.⁸²

Gregory did make room in this letter for those who had a legitimate excuse to be excused from going to the Holy Land personally, but otherwise, his firm intention to compel people to go to the Holy Land is clear, even if they had gone to Tunis. Why then, did Gregory make an exception with Alfonso of Castile, when he did not make an exception for others, including even James, king of the other Iberian kingdom, Aragon?⁸³

It seems clear that Gregory's offer to Alfonso acted in part as a bribe to give up the empire by redirecting him to the crusade, through which he would receive generous funding.

Gregory had told his chaplain, Master Frederick:

You may (with authority in this place) concede to [Alfonso] the tenth of all the returns of the churches of his kingdoms and lands up to six years, assigned for aid of the [Holy] Land in the present sacred council for the same six years, just as has been conceded for the [Holy] Land by apostolic commission, as aforesaid to you, so that he may pursue the fight which he will take up against the Saracens with a smaller trouble of expenses.⁸⁴

It must have been a tempting offer, since Alfonso was generally short of funds.⁸⁵ That Gregory's offer was in fact a bribe is very likely, since the offer of funds for the crusade in Africa came in the same letter that Gregory asked Alfonso to give up his imperial claims. But this does not mean that Gregory was willing to ignore his devotion to save the Holy Land for

⁸² *RGX*, n. 673 (*RV37*, f. 191v-192r). See Appendix A, 5:82.

⁸³ James had agreed to crusade to the Holy Land. In a letter to the king, Gregory made mention of this agreement, without any suggestion of turning him towards the crusade in Iberia or North Africa. See *RGX*, n. 646 (*RV37*, f. 243v-244r).

⁸⁴ *RGX*, n. 673 (*RV29A*, f. 38r-38v). See Appendix A, 5:84.

⁸⁵ Alfonso had recently cheapened the currency in Castile, and could not pay the salary of the 1,000 knights which Nuño wanted to take on the trip to the empire with Alfonso. *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 87 & 191.

political exigencies in Europe. Gregory was not manufacturing a need for crusade in Africa to appease Alfonso, and thus the pope's dedication to the crusade to the Holy Land need not fall into question in this case. Indeed, the need for crusading action in Africa would have been apparent to Gregory before he made the offer to Alfonso.

Evidence from King James of Aragon's autobiography points to the Aragonese king's awareness of the increasingly dangerous situation in southern Iberia. It is reasonable to assume that this information was passed on to Gregory at the general council, since James arrived in Lyons at the beginning of May 1274, and Gregory's messenger to Alfonso was not sent until June, after there would have been time enough for discussions between James and the pope. Discussing the crusade was, after all, why James had come to the council in the first place. Before arriving at the council, James had spent time in January and February 1274 surveying Murcia, a border realm with the kingdom of Granada. In his autobiography, James asserted that he 'had gone there to see how the town was populated.'⁸⁶ Robert Burns, however, has labelled this as a clever ruse 'to assess, behind a facade of gala diversion, the stability and defenses of this buffer realm.'⁸⁷

Alfonso had earlier in 1272 told James of worries over noblemen from both their kingdoms having allied with the king of Granada against them.⁸⁸ This danger must have been reinforced by the aforementioned meeting between Alfonso and James in 1273, in which Alfonso had asked James for support in an attack against the Muslims.⁸⁹ Upon his return from the council, James even advised Alfonso at Christmas 1274 that he should not go to see the pope about the matter of the empire 'because it would not be fitting for him to go to a land so far away.'⁹⁰ James probably had already heard from the pope that Alfonso would gain nothing from such a trip, but James' notion that it would not be fitting for Alfonso to go so

⁸⁶ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 358.

⁸⁷ Burns, *Islam under the Crusades*, p. 40.

⁸⁸ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 350.

⁸⁹ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 187-8.

⁹⁰ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 370-1.

far away from his kingdom is an interesting one, given that he had just done the very same thing. It is thus likely that James feared the potential threat of attack, which would certainly become more grave with the absence of the king. James would be the one to know this, since it was his own commercially motivated assistance of the Marinids that led to their taking of the port of Ceuta, which gave them a useful staging ground in the attack on Iberia.⁹¹ Given that the Marinid invasion would come to James' own territory, he must have regretted this decision.

Since it is reasonable to assume that Gregory heard James' earlier concerns while he was at the council, the pope was thus taking a proactive approach to this problem by trying to enlist Alfonso to crusade in Africa in his letter from June 1274. By naming 'Africa' here, Gregory would certainly have been referring neither to Egypt nor probably even Tunis, but rather the Marinids in Morocco, across the strait from Castile. It was this group that was already threatening Iberia, and it would not have made sense to send a crusade further afield in Africa when the Marinids could dash across the strait into Iberia. Gregory also wrote in August 1274 to the knights of Calatrava and of St James, military orders in Iberia, referencing their ongoing 'defense of the Christian faith against the Saracens of Africa.'⁹² Gregory told them: 'we, therefore, paying attention to the crises which you sustain continuously in parts of Africa for the defense of Christendom, and wanting, on account of that, to pursue this with special grace and favour to you, we have indulged you that you are by no means held to pay such a tenth from your proceeds.'⁹³ This was a significant move, since Gregory had been adamant at the Second Council of Lyons that everyone had to pay the tax 'irrespective of their standing, rank or order, or the status of their [religious] order. We wish that no privileges or indulgences assist anybody [to evade the tax], no matter what forms

⁹¹ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 234.

⁹² *RGX*, n. 409 (*RV37*, f. 143v) and *RGX*, n. 384 (*RV37*, f. 131v). See Appendix A, 5:92.

⁹³ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:93.

of words or mode of expression is used in them; indeed, on this matter we revoke them.’⁹⁴

Thus, he must have believed strongly in the utility of the crusade in Iberia and North Africa if he were actually to divert funds. Furthermore, the funding was not just a bribe to Alfonso, since Gregory had channelled money to the military orders in Iberia as well, which was unconnected to Alfonso’s claim to the empire. Both of these cases occurred before the Marinid invasion would have made it a necessity.

It is clear, then, that 1274 saw a significant and proactive move by Gregory to channel funding and commitment into the crusade efforts in Iberia and the neighbouring parts of North Africa. That this kind of commitment did not arrive sooner was due to Alfonso’s preoccupation with settling his claim to the empire. Indeed, in a June 1274 letter, Gregory told Alfonso very directly that his continuing pursuit of the crown was getting in the way of other business:

Since the business of the rule of the imperial summit is impending, [and] the necessities of the world are greatly urging, manifest justice recommends that it be expedited without further expense of delay. Great and useful services of God (for which we have convened the council) and chiefly the miserable condition of the Holy Land, (which, in postponing, deplores the clear and dangerous impediments) require continual concentration, and we are trying to accelerate its advancement in every possible way.⁹⁵

If this were not enough (and it evidently was not, since Alfonso persisted), Gregory’s position was made even clearer in December 1274. For his part, the decision had been made about the empire, since the electors themselves had made their choice and Gregory had acknowledged Rudolph in September 1274. Gregory did not name Alfonso ‘elect’ king of the Romans in the December letter, even though he had done so before. Instead, Rudolph was given this title for the first time in a letter to Alfonso, and the Castilian king was told that ‘the necessities of the

⁹⁴ Gregory X, ‘Decrees of the Second Council,’ p. 18. Gregory X, ‘*Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*,’ p. 197. See Appendix A, 5:94.

⁹⁵ *RGX*, n. 672 (*RV29A*, f. 37v-38r). See Appendix A, 5:95.

world, and especially of the empire itself and the Holy Land greatly demand the advancement of the business [of the imperial rule].⁹⁶ Alfonso's persistence on this issue led him to Beaucaire in 1275, at the very time that the Marinids launched an invasion of Iberia.

Double Crisis: the Empire and the Invasion of Iberia in 1275

The invasion of southern Iberia by the allied forces of the kingdom of Granada and the Marinids of Morocco left Christendom looking very flatfooted, despite the apparent premonitions of James of Aragon, warnings from Alfonso's noblemen, and Gregory's soliciting of Alfonso in 1274 to take up the crusade in Africa. Siberry's thesis that internal political issues were getting in the way of the crusade in the later thirteenth century certainly applied in this case, although at least Gregory had been making efforts in 1274 to overcome the issue.⁹⁷ The course of events in 1275 demonstrates Gregory's flexibility in his crusade planning, and his willingness to integrate crusading in Iberia or North Africa with that of the Holy Land. For Alfonso's part, it is clear that his desire for power had placed his kingdom in a precarious position. Even though Gregory had been working to deter Alfonso from his quest for the empire and turn him towards the crusade, he had thus far failed on this point. Gregory's crusading plans could have been ruined even before he died, since imminent war between Alfonso and Rudolph over Italy would have engulfed almost the whole of the West. Charles of Anjou could not but have become involved, given his vested interests in Italy. This likely would have brought the involvement of King Philip, who by this time had cool relations with both Alfonso over the succession to Navarre (since King Henry of Navarre died in 1274), and with Rudolph over land disputes also involving Count Philip of Savoy.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *RGX*, n. 690 (*RV29A*, f. 43r-44r). See Appendix A, 5:96.

⁹⁷ Siberry, *Criticism*, p. 220.

⁹⁸ On Navarre: *RGX*, n. 719 (*RV29A*, f. 51r-51v). On the French king's relations with Rudolph: *RGX*, n. 683 (*RV29A*, f. 41r). On Rudolph's troubles with Count Philip: *RGX*, n. 783 (*RV29A*, f. 81v).

Edward potentially could have become involved in support of his brother-in-law Alfonso, since he had been writing to the pope in Alfonso's favour in May 1275, and he was closely connected with the count of Savoy.⁹⁹ Lastly, the disappointment of King Ottokar over his failure to secure the kingship of the Romans cannot be forgotten, especially considering that he and Rudolph ended up going to war after Gregory's death.¹⁰⁰ Gregory himself must have been unsure at this time of his ability to keep the peace, since he was preparing for potential diplomatic failure in his talks with Alfonso by calling on Rudolph to send soldiers into Lombardy to place under the command of Gerard of Grandison, bishop of Verdun.¹⁰¹ Gregory faced the greatest test of his ability to keep the peace in Europe during 1275, and ironically it seems that he would have failed were it not for the Muslim invasion of Iberia drawing Alfonso back to Castile and forcing him to give up his claim to the kingship of the Romans.

At the time that Marinid troops began arriving in Iberia, Alfonso was already in Beaucaire for his meeting with Gregory, having begun his journey in March.¹⁰² To add insult to injury, by his own admission, he had only made the trip 'so that through [Gregory's harshness and failure to end dissension], the world may understand and everybody may see that he who ought to be the source of justice in the land, denies justice to us.'¹⁰³ He had no real expectation of ever securing Gregory's support, but in the meantime, the invasion force was ploughing through Alfonso's frontier defenses, which the king had left under the control of the rehabilitated Nuño González of Lara. While the enemy was already crashing through the gates, as it were, the bitter and vengeful Alfonso was wasting his time arguing with Gregory over something which was actually a *fait accompli*. It seems clear that Alfonso and

⁹⁹ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 522. The count of Savoy held lands in England under Edward. *Ibid*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 504. The count also asked help of Edward for the conflict with Rudolph. *Ibid*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 530.

¹⁰⁰ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 564.

¹⁰¹ *RGX*, n. 909.

¹⁰² *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 197.

¹⁰³ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 561. See Appendix A, 5:103.

Gregory's first discussions in May 1275 were not going well. In a 21 May letter to his ally, the commune of Pavia and its *podestà*, Lanfranco Pignataro, Alfonso painted a very hostile picture of Gregory. In a deeply wounded tone, Alfonso wrote:

All our days we have fought for the exaltation of the mother church for the Catholic faith. We demand not but that which is right from him, justice alone, not for a special benefit – God knows! – but for the honour of God especially and for the peaceful condition of the Christian people. We have discovered, however, all harshness in him, not as in a pious father but just as in a worldly lord.¹⁰⁴

Alfonso's perspective was certainly coloured by his disappointment, but Gregory probably was harsh with him, since he had already committed himself to Rudolph.

Since there are so few records of Gregory's meeting with Alfonso at Beaucaire, Alfonso's very one-sided letter must suffice to draw out what was under discussion at the meeting. Gregory probably did not have very many new offers to give Alfonso that he had not already written to him before – namely, that he was prepared to give him money from the tenth of Lyons to carry out the crusade in Iberia and North Africa. It was at these discussions, though, that Gregory agreed to write to Rudolph about Alfonso's claim to the duchy of Swabia, which he asserted through his mother, the daughter of Philip of Swabia. On 27 June 1275, Gregory asked Rudolph to satisfy Alfonso over this claim, in order to keep the peace.¹⁰⁵ Gaining the duchy was certainly a longshot, but Gregory could give the disappointed Alfonso so little recompense, that such a gesture (however futile) could not be denied. Alfonso had also written in his letter to the Pavians that Gregory was 'not feeling compassion for the shipwrecks of the Christians, who continuously destroy and kill themselves, since he is not one who prevents their inequalities and puts an end to dissensions.'¹⁰⁶ This seems to be an echo of Gregory's earlier letters, in which he had accused

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 561. See Appendix A, 5:104.

¹⁰⁵ *RGX*, n. 719 (*RV29A*, f. 51r-51v).

¹⁰⁶ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 561. See Appendix A, 5:106.

Alfonso of delaying the business of the Holy Land and other necessities of the world by continuing his struggle for the empire.¹⁰⁷ Gregory probably told him the same thing in their meeting. Most worryingly, though, Alfonso was still using the title ‘king of the Romans,’ and wrote that ‘we want by all means to pursue the imperial business as much *de jure* as *de facto*, [and] deep within to come personally and powerfully into Lombardy without any delay.’¹⁰⁸ He was planning to take the empire by force.

Alfonso’s threat to enter Italy was not an empty one, since he had already been sending troops there for the past year to show his strength and to aid his son-in-law, William of Montferrat. In a marriage alliance designed to solidify his power in northern Italy, Alfonso had wed his daughter to William, and the new couple had returned to Lombardy in January 1272.¹⁰⁹ In April 1274, no doubt to add pressure against Rudolph’s bid for Gregory’s acceptance of his election at the general council, Alfonso had sent 200-300 knights into Lombardy on the ships of another of his allies, Genoa.¹¹⁰ The knights were then sent to join the service of William, who was opposed to Charles of Anjou.¹¹¹ This first band of troops was followed in November 1274 by 800-900 more mounted knights, this time likely in response to Gregory’s acceptance of Rudolph’s election, and in preparation for Alfonso’s arrival in Italy.¹¹² Thus, even before Alfonso left for his talks with Gregory, he was already making contingencies for their failure. But Alfonso’s threat in May 1275 showed either a lack of understanding of the severity of the situation in Iberia, or else complete recklessness. A letter from Edward to Alfonso on 4 May indicated that both kings already knew of the

¹⁰⁷ *RGX*, n. 672 (*RV29A*, f. 37v-38r).

¹⁰⁸ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 561. See Appendix A, 5:108.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

¹¹⁰ The number was given as 300 Aragonese knights sent by Alfonso in the Genoese annals, and 200 knights of the king of Castile by the Ghibelline annals of Piacenza. *Annales Ianuenses*, p. 282; *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 559.

¹¹¹ *Annales Ianuenses*, p. 280.

¹¹² The number was given as 900 knights with horses sent by Alfonso on Genoese ships in the Genoese annals, and 800 Spanish knights in the Ghibelline annals of Piacenza. *Annales Ianuenses*, p. 282; *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 560.

‘business and war of the Saracens.’¹¹³ Edward regretted that he could do nothing to help at the moment, but he would allow any of his people, who wanted to help Alfonso in his struggle against the Muslims, to do so.¹¹⁴ It is not completely clear if this ‘business and war of the Saracens’ was the invasion, which had only begun, or in fact hints that Alfonso still planned to make his own attack on North Africa. However, given that Alfonso was devoting his energy to the empire, and sending troops to Italy, it was not likely to be the latter. Instead, Edward’s letter may indicate that the Muslims of North Africa were starting their attack even before O’Callaghan had placed their arrival (May 1275), which would make Alfonso’s departure from Castile seem even more wrong-headed.¹¹⁵

Negotiations between Gregory and Alfonso dragged on from May, through June (where, as has been seen, they turned to the duchy of Swabia), and finally to a resolution of sorts only at the end of July. This was a waste of precious time, especially for Alfonso, because in the meantime his eldest son Prince Fernando had fallen ill and died on his way to repel the invasion.¹¹⁶ This happened on 24 July, just days before there is evidence that Alfonso was beginning his return to Iberia to fight the invaders, and thus before it could have influenced his *rapprochement* with Gregory. But to what degree Alfonso and Gregory actually came to an agreement is difficult to determine now, and seemed equally so at the time, given that the Genoese annals wrote that it was uncertain what the result was, even though rumours told that Alfonso had given up the empire. The annals noted, nevertheless, that he continued to use the title ‘king of the Romans.’¹¹⁷ The Genoese may have been among the better-informed, since at least some of them had come to Beaucaire at the time to do

¹¹³ ‘*Negotio & guerra Saracenorum.*’ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 522.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 522.

¹¹⁵ O’Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 235.

¹¹⁶ The *Chronicle of Alfonso X* placed Fernando’s death in August, but its chronology is generally poor. *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 197. O’Callaghan has placed Fernando’s death at 24 July 1275. O’Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 235.

¹¹⁷ *Annales Ianuenses*, p. 282.

honour to Alfonso.¹¹⁸ But if any of them learned of the details of the negotiation, they neglected to pass on that information to the Genoese chronicler. The anonymous biographer of Gregory X wrote that official bulls had actually been given by Alfonso to Gregory, but unfortunately these are not extant.¹¹⁹

Some indication that Alfonso and Gregory's negotiations had come to an end comes from two letters in Gregory's papal registers dated 28 July 1275.¹²⁰ These indicate that Gregory had given Alfonso the tenth of Lyons for his kingdoms to be used in fighting against the Muslims of Iberia and Africa.¹²¹ Alfonso was to secure a loan in the first instance, to be paid back within a certain time (presumably after the windfall from the tenth of Lyons had been received).¹²² This would certainly have acted as a bribe for Alfonso to give up his claims, but there was more to it than that. Gregory was not selling out the Holy Land to deal with political problems in the West. He was actually responding to current events by allowing some flexibility in the use of the crusade tithe. Crucially, Gregory wrote to Alfonso that he was giving him this money because 'an assault against the Saracens [coming into Iberia from Africa] results in great and vast favour to Christ and the aid of the [Holy] Land, since those who confound the [Holy] Land by various disturbances, without stop, are very often favoured by their support.'¹²³ This did not mean that Alfonso was to fight in Iberia for the purpose of opening a new land route to crusading in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, it still gives some support to O'Banion's idea of an attempt to 'unite two of the great crusading arenas into a single Mediterranean-wide struggle against Islam,' which would 'resolv[e] the tension

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 347.

¹²⁰ *RGX*, n. 838 (*RV29A*, f. 171r-171v). *RGX*, n. 839 (*RV29A*, f. 171v). Guiraud mistakenly placed the date of letter 839 in October.

¹²¹ *RGX*, n. 838 (*RV29A*, f. 171r-171v). This was reiterated in an October 1275 memorandum. *RGX*, n. 649 (*RV37*, f. 244v).

¹²² For details of the loan, see *RGX*, n. 839 (*RV29A*, f. 171v).

¹²³ *RGX*, n. 838 (*RV29A*, f. 171r-171v). See Appendix A, 5:123. This was reiterated basically verbatim in the October 1275 memorandum. *RGX*, n. 649 (*RV37*, f. 244v).

between the Spanish impulse to crusade in Jerusalem and the obligation to battle the Moors at home.¹²⁴

The connections between the Muslims of North Africa and those of the Holy Land are borne out by evidence from Ibn al-Furāt. When St Louis' second crusade landed in Tunis, it prompted Baybars to start organising a relief force there from Egypt.¹²⁵ However, connections in the direction to which Gregory was referring – namely, from North Africa to the Holy Land – are less clear. In his advice treatise to Gregory, William of Tripoli had marked out Morocco as the seat of one of the three caliphs (the others being in Baghdad and Egypt), but he gave no indication that Morocco was working closely with the Muslims of the East.¹²⁶ Ibn al-Furāt, however, noted that the ruler of Tunis had sent Baybars 25 horses in 1271 or 1272. Whether this acted as a one-time gift to assuage Baybars' anger over the Tunisian treaty with the Franks, or it formed part of an ongoing exchange cannot be known for certain.¹²⁷ Baybars must have been unhappy enough with Tunis at the time that 'he threatened them with his forces.'¹²⁸ Yet, more support for a connection between Baybars and the North African Muslims comes later, in 1276, though it is circumstantial. At the very same time that Alfonso was trying to make peace with the Marinids and the kingdom of Granada, he was said by Makrizi to have messengers in the court of Sultan Baybars.¹²⁹ Perhaps a connection between eastern and western Muslims meant that Alfonso was trying to secure Baybars' aid in forming the treaty, although Makrizi gave no details about the nature of the embassy.

Gregory conceived of his crusade target as encompassing not only the Muslims holding the Holy Land, but also those in North Africa. With the invasion of Iberia, the North

¹²⁴ O'Banion, 'What Has Iberia to Do with Jerusalem,' p. 384.

¹²⁵ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 141.

¹²⁶ William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 583.

¹²⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 156.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 2, p. 156.

¹²⁹ For the treaty in 1276: *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 216. For Alfonso's messenger to Baybars, see: Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 127.

African crusade that Gregory had been advocating since his letter to Alfonso in June 1274 could now get off the ground. Although Alfonso himself had considered an attack on North Africa, it was not any initiative on his part that led to the war in Iberia being met. Gregory's letters from 28 July, when Alfonso was leaving for Iberia, made no mention at all of the empire, and simply focused on funding for the crusade in Iberia and Africa. However, later letters to the archbishop of Seville in September 1275 clarify Gregory's thoughts on the matter: 'the king of Castile and Leon has acquiesced to our wishes on the business [of the empire].'¹³⁰ But he noted that 'we have heard from the assertions of many faithful people that the king titles himself king of the Romans in his letters, just as before.'¹³¹ Worryingly, 'the king has sent various letters to very many magnates of Germany, and indeed communities of Italy, affirming neither to have desisted in the business of the empire, nor to want to desist.'¹³² So, Gregory told the archbishop: 'may you urge the king and may you effectively strive to induce him, so that he may altogether desist from these and similar things, not making use of the aforesaid sign and title of another.'¹³³ Alfonso never did, and Gregory knew it. Thus, he sent another letter to the archbishop along the same lines later in September.¹³⁴ More importantly, at least some of the Iberian troops that Alfonso had sent to Italy were still fighting alongside Alfonso's allies the Pavians in September, even though Iberia itself was still under attack and Alfonso had promised Gregory to give up on his imperial ambitions.¹³⁵ It was thus fortunate for Gregory that the war in Iberia kept Alfonso from disrupting Italy even more, and delaying the pope's crusade indefinitely.

What, then, made Alfonso change his mind, or at the very least, back down for the time being, since it seems that the war in Iberia had at least not immediately sent him home?

¹³⁰ *RGX*, n. 650 (*RV37*, f. 245r). See Appendix A, 5:130.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:131.

¹³² *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:132.

¹³³ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:133.

¹³⁴ *RGX*, n. 651 (*RV37*, f. 245r).

¹³⁵ *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 561.

The *Chronicle of Alfonso X* would have one believe that Alfonso was still in Beaucaire when he learned of the deaths of his eldest son, Prince Fernando, and of Archbishop Sancho and Don Nuño.¹³⁶ Alfonso was said to have thought that his younger son, Sancho, would not try to defend the kingdom.¹³⁷ Thus, ‘for this reason, and also because he had learned that concerning the matter of the empire they were mocking him, and that he had wasted a very large fortune on this journey, he departed Beaucaire and set out for Castile.’¹³⁸ It could not have happened this way. Even the chronicler himself pointed out on more than one occasion that his knowledge of what happened to Alfonso when he left Iberia to go to the empire was practically non-existent.¹³⁹ There would not have been enough time for news of Fernando’s death to reach Alfonso in Beaucaire before Gregory’s 28 July letters which indicated some sort of agreement between the pope and Alfonso. Alfonso certainly could not have heard of the deaths of Don Nuño and Archbishop Sancho, since they did not die until September and October 1275, respectively, though the chronicle mistakenly put Nuño’s death in May, and Sancho’s before that of Fernando.¹⁴⁰ Alfonso must have been making plans to return to Castile even before he heard of these deaths; thus, Alfonso and Gregory must have been able to come to some sort of an agreement even without Alfonso having the added pressure of so many significant deaths in his kingdom to push him to a conclusion. It seems likely that Alfonso could only stay away from his kingdom for so long while it was being invaded, but it also seems that Alfonso recognised that Gregory was never going to change his mind. For Gregory, it was victory by attrition, with plenty of help from a Muslim invasion.

Gregory may have had some sort of success with Alfonso, but the deaths of Don Nuño and the archbishop of Toledo were a significant loss for Gregory’s crusading efforts, since both had shown themselves as eager participants in the crusade. Gregory had started to

¹³⁶ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 214.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 197 & 214.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 203 & 206. O’Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 235.

coordinate funding with Sancho, allowing him ‘to receive a quarter portion of the same remaining profits of the clerical and lay tenth for aid of the said business,’ before the untimely demise of the archbishop cut planning short.¹⁴¹ Nuño had even sent a crusading proposal to Gregory, making it evident that Gregory’s request for advice for a new crusade to the Holy Land was widely known. Sadly, the proposal is not extant, and the only evidence for it – a letter from Gregory to Nuño – is lacking in detail.¹⁴² Gregory excused himself for not being able to give a firm response to Nuño because some business was occupying him at the moment. But once that was finished, he planned to answer him fully.¹⁴³ In the end, Nuño had died before Gregory had the opportunity to answer him. The letter can be reasonably dated to early-to-mid 1275, since Gregory was occupied at the time with Nuño’s own lord, King Alfonso.¹⁴⁴ Likely, Gregory wanted to know where he stood with Alfonso before he started accepting the crusade proposals of the king’s barons. It is conceivable that Nuño had offered himself for the crusade to the Holy Land to get out of Iberia altogether, given his still-recent rebellion against Alfonso. Interestingly, it is clear at least that Nuño’s proposal was for a crusade in the Holy Land, not for crusading in Iberia. Gregory had written: ‘we have commended the praiseworthy affection in the Lord which you carry towards the business of the Holy Land. You have conceived a proposal to the advancement of that [business].’¹⁴⁵ While it is true that Gregory had linked the crusade in Iberia with advancing the business of the Holy Land, the language here does not indicate that Nuño’s proposal would aid the Holy Land through the crusade in Iberia. In all likelihood, Nuño had a plan for the crusade in the Holy Land itself.

¹⁴¹ *RGX*, n. 629 (*RV37*, f. 236r-237r). See Appendix A, 5:141.

¹⁴² *RGX*, n. 824 (*RV29A*, f. 168r).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ This estimation is corroborated by *Documentos de Gregorio X (1272-1276) Referentes a España*, ed. Santiago Domínguez Sánchez (León, 1997), p. 165-6.

¹⁴⁵ *RGX*, n. 824 (*RV29A*, f. 168r). See Appendix A, 5:145.

Even with the ongoing reconquest in Iberia, interest among the Iberians for crusading in the Holy Land was still present. James of Aragon's offer to help Gregory has already been discussed in chapter three, but to this can be added Nuño. Nuño's son Juan Nunez also had a crusade pedigree, since he had taken part in St Louis' disastrous second crusade.¹⁴⁶ When Gregory wrote to Nuño about his proposal, he also wrote to Juan to encourage him to support and imitate his father.¹⁴⁷ An even more significant Iberian to offer himself for the crusade was Prince Emmanuel, brother of King Alfonso. Gregory wrote to Emmanuel in September 1275 (while Iberia was under attack) about the prince's request to receive the tenth from Portugal because he was taking up the cross 'to proceed personally in aid of the Holy Land with an appropriate escort of warriors.'¹⁴⁸ But Gregory, again showing that he had a flexibility in his crusading plans (as well as simple commonsense) told Emmanuel: 'we want you to know that it would not be fitting to the king to transfer you away from the persecution of the Saracens threatening the tranquil state of the kingdoms.'¹⁴⁹ But he told Emmanuel that '[when] the means will have appeared to you for aid of the [Holy] Land, so much as when we will be able, we will grant your aforesaid supplication willingly.'¹⁵⁰ One might argue that Gregory was stymieing participation in his own crusade, and that if he had let Emmanuel proceed instead of holding him back, then his crusade might have actually launched. But this is seen only with retrospect. Iberia needed reinforcing, and Gregory made what seemed like the best decision under the circumstances in which he found himself.

The Iberians who offered to crusade were few in number, but they were of high status. Had Emmanuel or James, or even Nuño been able to fulfill their wish to crusade to the Holy Land, their high positions would no doubt have meant that they would bring a substantial retinue. Indeed, Nuño had earlier wanted to take 1,000 knights with Alfonso on his trip to the

¹⁴⁶ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 113-4 & 124.

¹⁴⁷ *RGX*, n. 825 (*RV29A*, f. 168r-168v).

¹⁴⁸ *RGX*, n. 840 (*RV37*, f. 171v). See Appendix A, 5:148.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:149.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 5:150.

empire, though the king would have had to provide funding.¹⁵¹ Emmanuel had offered to bring an ‘appropriate escort of warriors’ on his crusade.¹⁵² Finally, James had offered to furnish 1,000 knights, and perhaps ten ships.¹⁵³ The offers to crusade show that even though the powerful king of Castile was at odds with Gregory, the pope’s crusading message was still striking a chord in Iberia with Alfonso’s vassals and his father-in-law. And indeed, Gregory’s need to redirect Emmanuel to Iberia away from the Holy Land shows that even with an ongoing invasion in Iberia, the crusade to the Holy Land took precedence for at least Emmanuel, and thus perhaps more. Siberry has done much to disprove Throop’s thesis about hostility to the crusade in the later thirteenth century, but here too is further proof of enduring interest in crusading.

Conclusion

At the time of the Marinid invasion of Iberia, Alfonso was on the cusp of using military force to have his claim to the empire recognised. This would have been a disaster for Gregory’s crusading plans. Without peace in Europe, Gregory would not have been able to muster the force that he needed to launch his crusade. Gregory had been failing in his struggle to have Alfonso give up on his claim to the empire. Given that the pope had decided to acknowledge the selection of Rudolph of Habsburg as king of the Romans, it would have been impossible to turn back on this decision without causing even further war. In the end, the avoidance of war must boil down partly to Alfonso’s recognition that Gregory was never going to change his mind, but most of all to the invasion of Iberia forcing Alfonso to return to his kingdom. It is clear that the political situation in Europe, once again in the old battleground of Italy, could play a large role in Gregory’s ability to launch a crusade. Yet in

¹⁵¹ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 191.

¹⁵² ‘*Cum decenti bellatorum comitiva.*’ *RGX*, n. 840 (*RV37*, f. 171v).

¹⁵³ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363-4.

one aspect, instead of hindering his ability to launch a crusade, Gregory was able to use the struggle for the kingship of the Romans to gain support for his crusade, since candidates were putting forward crusading interest. Though Gregory had been failing diplomatically with Alfonso until the end of their talks in Beaucaire, at the end of his papal reign the course of events in Iberia meant that the pope did still have the peaceful conditions in the rest of Europe necessary to launch his crusade.

If a full picture of the nature of the crusades is to be gained, then historians must not treat the crusades in Iberia and North Africa separately from those in the Holy Land (or indeed anywhere else). It is clear that crusading in these areas formed a complementary part of Gregory's crusade organisation. St Louis' crusade to Tunis had, from Gregory's perspective, very recently connected this general area to the realm of thirteenth century crusading in a very real way. Even though Louis' crusade to North Africa had ended in disaster, Gregory still encouraged Alfonso to crusade there. Far from being set in his ways about his crusade, Gregory's support for crusading in North Africa and his direction of funding to the Iberian military orders for the same crusade in 1274 shows that his vision of the crusade, like that of past popes, included a fight against the Muslims of North Africa and Iberia – far from the Holy Land – and he was willing to take concrete steps to facilitate this. He was thus not wholly focused on sending a crusade only to the Holy Land. The invasion of Iberia in 1275 merely made what Gregory had already wanted become an unavoidable reality, and Alfonso could not but agree. But far from ignoring the Holy Land, Gregory was able to direct funding to Iberia because, in his mind, this helped the Holy Land itself. In this sense, it was not a 'diversion' of crusading force at all.

IMAGINING GREGORY'S CRUSADE

Chapter Six

Introduction: the Crusade that Never Was

Norman Housley has written that 'the demise of any pope at such a critical point in crusade planning presents the historian with an insuperable problem of interpretation.'¹ Interpreting Gregory's crusade is especially interesting for the historian, since he was the last pope to come close to launching a major crusade to rescue the Holy Land. Gregory stands alone as the pope able to gain the participation of virtually all of Europe's major rulers: Germany and the Empire, France, Sicily, Aragon, Portugal, Sweden, and (in a way) Castile.² To this list, England and Bohemia could also potentially be added. Even more, with the success of the ecclesiastical union at Lyons, Gregory had Greek support for his crusade as well. With strong potential for an alliance with the Mongols, this crusade could have been staggeringly large. The fact that the crusade came to nothing after Gregory's death need not prevent an analysis of its organisation and aims. An examination of Gregory's plans for his general passage can demonstrate the changes the crusading movement was undergoing at the end of its classical period in the thirteenth century. This was not only in the dual crusade policy that Gregory adopted, but also in the direction of the general passage.

This chapter will first discuss the unprecedented participation of effectively all of the major leaders of Europe in the crusade to the Holy Land and Iberia, which demonstrates Gregory's impressive ability as a crusade organiser. The wide participation of kings in this

¹ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 14.

² King Alfonso III of Portugal likely joined the crusade very soon after Gregory's death. This is discussed below. Proof that King Magnus III of Sweden planned to crusade comes from his 1285 will, in which he bequeathed 400 marks for the fulfillment of his crusade vow to the Holy Land. It is not clear if he took the cross for Gregory's crusade while Gregory was still alive, or after he died. *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. J.G. Liljegren, vol. 1 (Stockholm, 1829), p. 657.

crusade would have presented a problem of leadership, thus this chapter will address this question, and argue that secular leadership of the crusade army would have turned away from France, and towards a new emperor, Rudolph of Habsburg. Gregory's own participation in his crusade would also have been a key element in leadership. It will then offer a solution to the debate over the timing of Gregory's general passage, which has been widely disputed by disparate groups, with Throop, Tyerman, and Riley-Smith placing it in 1277; Housley divided between 1277 and 1280; Schein at 1280; Richard and Asbridge at 1278; and finally, Leopold at 1276.³ This chapter will argue that even Gregory's general passage (like the interim aid) would have been launched quickly based on the perceived need for a rapid response to the Holy Land's problems: it would have been in June 1276.

Finally, it will argue that Gregory's failed crusade was very significant to understanding the course of crusading history, because it showed that a new general passage would no longer choose Egypt as its destination, even though this had been the recurring objective of thirteenth-century crusades. Indeed, the previous trend of Egypt has even understandably led Dunbabin to assume that it would have been the destination of Gregory's crusade as well.⁴ Building on the work of Schein (who noted that the target of Egypt was 'conspicuously absent' from crusade planning after 1270, but who never addressed the target of Gregory's crusade), this chapter will demonstrate that it was during the reign of Pope Gregory X – when the Latin East was in its worst state since Saladin's conquests – that the destination of the crusade would have returned to the Holy Land proper, by the land route through Turkey and northern Syria, to Palestine.⁵

³ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 272. Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 816. Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, p. 213. Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 13-14. Schein, *Fideles*, p. 44. Richard, *Crusades*, p. 437. Asbridge, *Crusades*, p. 649. Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 177.

⁴ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 94.

⁵ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 50.

The Participation of Philip of France

King Philip III of France was supposed to be one of the cornerstones of Gregory's crusade. All indications from Gregory's dealings with Philip point to the pope's desire for this. As has been discussed in chapters two and three, Gregory had been working more closely with Philip for the interim crusading preparations than with any other monarch, save for Charles of Anjou's supply of food. Besides the Church itself, it was only Philip who had been making investments in mercenaries to defend the Holy Land. Thus, his interests there were at stake. Although James of Aragon was the first monarch to give Gregory a firm signal that he would take up the cross, it was Philip that actually first took up the cross, which he did at his wedding to Maria of Brabant on the feast of St John the Baptist, 24 June 1275.⁶ Philip had promised Gregory shortly after the general council in 1274 that he would do so, though technically he still had not completed the vow that he had made for his father's second crusade.⁷ After the debacle at Tunis, Philip had returned to France without reaching the Holy Land. Even with this stain on his reputation, Charles-Victor Langlois (one of the few historians to tackle the reign of Philip III) painted a glowing picture of him. Langlois believed that the young king 'seemed a worthy heir of his father, and showed himself as ardent as him for the expeditions to Outremer.'⁸

⁶ The specific time that Philip took up the cross comes from only one source: Peter Coral, *Majus Chronicon Lemovicense*, ed. Guigniaut & de Wailly, *RHGF*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1855), p. 786. However, many other sources confirm that Philip had taken up the cross for Gregory's crusade: Salimbene de Adam, *Chronicle*, trans. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, & John Robert Kane (Binghampton, 1986), p. 499; Martin of Opava, *Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum*, *MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 22 (Hannover, 1872), p. 442; RV29A, f. 198v-199r; Bernard Gui, *E Floribus Chronicorum, seu Catalogo Romanorum Pontificum, necnon e Chronico Regum Francorum*, ed. Guigniaut & de Wailly, *RHGF*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1855), p. 703; Bartholomew of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica Nova*, p. 585. His taking of the cross is also confirmed in *Sur les annates et les dimes jusqu'en M.CCC.VII*, ed. Guigniaut & de Wailly, *RHGF*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1855), p. 530, although it wrongly placed it at the general council.

⁷ Gregory's 1 August 1274 letter to his legate, Simon of Brie, indicates that Philip had already resolved to take up the cross by this time. *RGX*, n. 498 (RV37, f. 185v-186r).

⁸ Langlois, *Règne de Philippe III*, p. 64. The lack of scholarship on Philip III is due to the scarcity of sources. As Langlois noted, the official registers of Philip II, Louis IX, and Philip IV are still extant, but Philip III's have been lost. *Ibid.*, p. i-ii.

Ardent he may have been – his work with Gregory goes some way to proving this – but ultimately, the only crusade Philip went on was the disastrous one to claim the kingdom of Aragon, which ended ignominiously in his own death in 1285. Langlois’ glowing picture must be tempered somewhat by the fact that Gregory had reminded Philip of the possibility of excommunication in 1273 to help persuade him to complete this vow.⁹ But this should not be taken too far. As has been seen in chapter three, Philip had offered to crusade the year before. Thus in 1273, Gregory was likely just using this threat to encourage Philip to take part in the pope’s own plans. Gregory’s letter was by no means harsh, and simply encouraged Philip to imitate the example of his famous ancestors.¹⁰ Gregory only reminded Philip that he could be excommunicated if he did not fulfill his vow, but this would not be done without express papal mandate.¹¹ This probably was not even necessary, since by the time Gregory wrote this letter, Philip had already taken steps to show himself useful by supplying the pope with a loan for the Holy Land of 25,000 marks.¹²

Philip took up the cross in 1275 with his wife Maria, as well as his two brothers, Robert, count of Clermont, and Peter, count of Perche and Alençon.¹³ As princes of France, his brothers could have fielded significant contingents. In addition, Philip’s new marriage with Maria was likely what led her brother, John I, duke of Brabant and Lotharingia, to take up the cross at the wedding.¹⁴ According to Gregory’s letters in July 1275, John was going to crusade ‘with a number of decent warriors’ numbering around ‘50 knights.’¹⁵ Robert II, duke of Burgundy (who later married Philip’s sister Agnes in 1279) took up the cross along with many barons of France at the wedding as well.¹⁶ Among the many barons of France who had

⁹ For the threat of excommunication, see: *RGX*, n. 227 & 228 (*RV37*, f. 79v-80r).

¹⁰ *RGX*, n. 227 (*RV37*, f. 79v).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *RGX*, n. 789 (*RV29A*, f. 157v-158r).

¹³ Coral, *Majus Chronicon Lemovicense*, p. 786.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ ‘*Cum decenti bellatorum numero.*’ *RGX*, n. 837 (*RV29A*, f. 171r). ‘*Cum quinquaginta militibus.*’ *RGX*, n. 831 (*RV29A*, f. 169v).

¹⁶ Coral, *Majus Chronicon Lemovicense*, p. 786.

taken up the cross could also be found the perennial crusader Erard of Valery, chamberlain of France, who was given 2,000 marks Stirling out of the tenth of Lyons from Navarre.¹⁷ This money was to go to Simon of Brie if Erard were unable to go to the Holy Land.¹⁸ It was Erard who had attended the Second Council of Lyons as Philip's representative, and (according to James of Aragon himself, who certainly liked to exaggerate), who had remained shamefully silent after James' boastful offer of help for the Holy Land.¹⁹ Clearly the participation of Erard's lord, Philip, had helped to bring Erard to the crusade. Erard's unrivalled experience on both of St Louis' crusades, as well as with Odo of Burgundy in 1265 would have made him a very desirable participant in the new crusade.

Humbert of Beaujeu, constable of France, should be counted among Philip's group of crusaders as well. Langlois has noted that Humbert was one of the forces driving Philip to go to the Holy Land.²⁰ A letter in which Gregory expressed his understanding that Humbert was aflame with zeal for the business of the Holy Land likely points to the constable having taken up the cross with the others.²¹ Finally, one last, and lesser-known baron of France may also be added: Gaucher, the castellan of Noyon and Thourotte, had taken up the cross and was going to the Holy Land with ten knights.²² Gaucher certainly did not have the standing of Erard or Humbert, but Gregory's personal interest in convincing King Philip to relax Gaucher's debts must indicate that he was a man of some significance.²³ Ten knights was not an insignificant number, since the duke of Brabant himself was said to be bringing only 50.

¹⁷ *RGX*, n. 648 (*RV29A*, f. 244r-244v). Duplicated in *RGX*, n. 836 (*RV29A*, f. 170v-171r). Guiraud had noted for register letter 648 that, given Gregory's movements, the dating of 27 October 1275 in Vienne was incorrect, but he himself gave an incorrect substitution of 27 September 1275 in Vienne. The duplicate register letter 836 solves the issue by giving the correct dating: 27 October 1275 in Sion.

¹⁸ *RGX*, n. 648 (*RV29A*, f. 244r-244v). Duplicated in *RGX*, n. 836 (*RV29A*, f. 170v-171r).

¹⁹ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

²⁰ 'Humbert of Beaujeu sought to induce the king to a new crusade; this pious person, despite the disaster at Tunis, never stopped dreaming of the expedition to Outremer.' Langlois, *Règne de Philippe III*, p. 43.

²¹ *RGX*, n. 807 (*RV29A*, f. 162v).

²² *RGX*, n. 883. See also *RGX*, n. 884.

²³ Gaucher owed 1,000 pounds, and had an annual revenue not exceeding 3,000 pounds. *RGX*, n. 883.

News that Philip and others were taking up the cross at the king's wedding is likely what precipitated Gregory's letter to Simon of Brie a few days later on 29 June 1275. The letter is one of Gregory's most enigmatic. He wrote:

It is typical that moving forward difficult tasks incites an increase in the stimulations of anxiety, so that around those things which are pressing, nothing may pass undiscussed, lest by chance it makes them sorry to have neglected anything unexpected that afterwards they may reflect ought to have been foreseen. Therefore, we incite our dearest son in Christ the illustrious king of the Franks, you, and your counsellors (when he is free from such anxiety), to pursue the business of the Holy Land. As, nevertheless, anxiety is increased by worrisome things, we send to you the necessities, which we entrust to the aforesaid land, through the beloved son, Master William of Mâcon, our chaplain, under the seal of a fisherman²⁴ somehow, so that concerning those things which the king, you, and the aforesaid counsellors have foreseen around the business of the Holy Land, those things may proceed, which have seemed useful to the king and to you after holding deliberation.²⁵

The letter is deliberately vague, because the 'necessities' that William was carrying to the king probably needed to be kept secret, lest William's legation be intercepted by thieves. It is supposition, but it seems likely that now that Philip had finally taken up the cross, Gregory was sending him some of the money that was being raised for the Holy Land. If so, Philip would be the first king to receive money from Gregory's crusade fundraising efforts, and thus Rudolph was neither the first, nor the only recipient of funds, as Throop believed.²⁶ This seems even more likely given the fact that William of Roussillon was sent by the king of France and the Church to the Holy Land later in the same year with a contingent of troops. This close association between Gregory and Philip makes it appear that, although Philip would never have been the secular leader of Gregory's crusade, in the absence of a king of

²⁴ According to Du Cange's *Glossa*, '*sigillum piscatoris*' was used by the pope for matters requiring secrecy.

²⁵ *RGX*, n. 835 (*RV29A*, f. 170v). See Appendix A, 6:25.

²⁶ Throop, *Criticism*, p. 272.

the Romans or an emperor, he had been filling this role, as his father had before him. This question of leadership will be discussed in full below.

The Participation of Charles of Anjou and Michael Palaeologus

Charles of Anjou's kingdom had been steadily sending supplies to the Holy Land, as has been seen in chapter four. He was also a former crusader himself, having participated in both of his brother Louis' crusades. The problem for Gregory's crusading plans was that Charles was much more interested in an attack on Byzantine territory than on the Muslims holding the Holy Land. Clearly, this was a problem for Michael Palaeologus as well. It is no secret that Michael's own interest in church union at the Second Council of Lyons was fuelled by his desire to prevent Charles from attacking him. The church union and relations between the Greeks and Charles of Anjou have been well documented, thus this chapter will not dwell on them. Instead, it will focus on the participation or non-participation of Charles and Michael in Gregory's crusade. Though Charles had been working closely with Gregory to aid the Holy Land in the interim, his participation in the crusade was by no means a certainty. In addition, Michael's promise of Greek participation in the planned crusade – almost unprecedented after the Fourth Crusade – was a coup for Gregory, though the impetus for this participation came not from the pope, but from Michael himself.

Just as with the other European monarchs, Gregory certainly wanted to secure Charles of Anjou's participation in the Holy Land crusade; however, it appears that in this case, Gregory would have been satisfied if Charles' son and heir, Charles of Salerno, participated in his stead. This stands in contrast most obviously to Charles' nephew Philip of France, for whom a proxy was never discussed. Yet Charles, just like Philip, had not completed his vow from Louis' second crusade after it broke up in Tunis. Gregory had been sure to remind

Philip of the consequences of failing to complete his vow, but no extant letters give any indication that Charles was similarly pressed. Charles had been one of the first people to meet with Gregory when the new pope returned from the East.²⁷ Their close contact was probably what has led to so few documents being exchanged between the two. It is possible that Gregory did not pressure Charles to fulfill his vow in letters, because Charles had already discussed his participation in the new crusade with the pope in person. At any rate, the only documentary evidence that proves Charles took up the cross again was not written until 13 October 1275, after Philip had already done so, and just before Rudolph of Habsburg did as well.²⁸ Even in this case, one must reconstruct the scenario based on Gregory's response to the news, and not on any remaining information from Charles himself, or even from chronicle evidence. As discussed in this chapter, there are many chronicles which have noted the cross-taking of Philip of France and Rudolph of Habsburg, but none remain to indicate that of Charles of Anjou.

Gregory wrote a letter to Charles and his son, in which both were said to have taken up the cross for the crusade to the Holy Land.²⁹ Yet, unlike the pressure that Gregory had placed on Philip for his participation, Gregory wrote to Charles (to whom he had given the Lyons tenth for Sicily, Anjou, and Provence):

If you, the aforesaid king, personally are unable or unwilling to proceed there, we want that you, the foremost son, may have the same tenth in a similar way through the said time, if nevertheless by passing over the sea you may pursue the business of the [Holy] Land in your very own person in the general passage, on par with the same plan.³⁰

Whether Charles had promised to take up the cross earlier or not, it was not until this year that he actually did so, but with the unique difference that his son, Charles of Salerno, might

²⁷ After Gregory had put to port at Brindisi in January 1272, Charles had met Gregory in Benevento, *en route* to Viterbo. *Vita Gregorii*, p. 345.

²⁸ *RGX*, n. 636 (*RV37*, f. 239r).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ This 'plan' was noted in the same letter simply to be Gregory's plan for carrying out the crusade, which included giving money to crusaders from the Lyons tenth. *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:30.

go in his place. More importantly, this was a caveat that Gregory seemed perfectly willing to accept, although he gave no other such exemptions to other kings. Of course, Philip did not actually have a son of age who could crusade in his place, but he did have two brothers. They, like Edward's brother Edmund, could theoretically have filled in for the king.³¹

Dunbabin has argued that Charles had a 'thirst for crusading.'³² Why then, does he seem to be the one monarch whose participation was not so actively sought by Gregory, at least as far as the records indicate? Unfortunately, one can only make suppositions: it seems most likely that Gregory would have been happy for Charles to stay in Italy so that any potential problems there from Alfonso of Castile while the crusade was underway could be dealt with by someone close in the pope's confidence. In addition, the participation of Michael Palaeologus may have made for a troubled crusader camp if Charles were to be among its ranks. It is not very likely that Charles wanted to stay behind in order to take advantage of the situation by an attack on Byzantium; indeed, if Gregory had remained in Europe, he would have acted to put a stop to this, and with the new church union, Charles' legal ability to attack Byzantium had been severely curtailed. Charles had not shown himself willing to cross Gregory, so he would not likely have launched an attack on Byzantium without papal permission. In the absence of evidence, one can only assume the likeliest course that, if Charles had remained behind, it would have been in order to keep Italy under control.

The confirmation that Charles of Anjou would indeed be staying behind comes after Gregory's death, though Sicilian commitment to the crusade was still clear with the later participation of the constable of Sicily, John Britaud, who took up the cross presumably to go

³¹ As will be discussed below, when Edward agreed to take the cross, he stipulated that his brother might go in his stead. *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 537.

³² Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 197.

with Charles of Salerno.³³ Pope Innocent V's letter to Michael Palaeologus in May 1276 noted that Charles of Salerno was going on crusade along with Philip, Rudolph, and Alfonso III of Portugal.³⁴ According to Innocent's letter, Michael had been interested in:

Especially whether [Pope Gregory X] and the kings were disposed personally to cross over the sea or to support the [Holy] Land by a relief mission, [as well as] at which time the general passage would be in the future, which kings, and how many, have taken up the cross, or how much aid [Gregory] and the kings would send if they happen not to pass over the sea, and whether they were intending to have the advance peacefully, or through war.³⁵

Of course, even with the church union, Michael would still not have let his guard down to his archrival Charles of Anjou. Thus, Michael's interest in who would be participating in the crusade was chiefly an interest in the movements of Charles himself.

Michael's own offer of Greek participation in the crusade was a huge coup for Gregory, but not quite without precedent in the thirteenth century. Michael himself had made a similar offer to both Pope Urban IV and Pope Clement IV when he had been in union negotiations with them in the 1260s.³⁶ The key difference in Gregory's case was that the union was actually brought to fruition, and thus what had been a useful tool in showing good faith to the pope could now actually be put into practice. Michael's offer to Gregory had already been in discussion at the general council. A July 1274 letter from Michael's ambassadors to Gregory indicates:

Concerning the assistance that our lord emperor declares to give in the Holy Land, we declare this, and affirm that his whole intention and promptitude is entirely for giving assistance in the Holy Land, through providing an army, money, and supplies, and through other foreseen things of any sort, but only if he will have peace with his Latin

³³ By November 1276, John Britaud, lord of Nangis, constable of Sicily, and panetier of France, had taken up the vow to crusade in the Holy Land with an appropriate escort. *Reg. John XXI*, n. 11.

³⁴ *RV29A*, f. 198v-199r.

³⁵ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:35.

³⁶ Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 176 & 204.

neighbours. [...] And we are prepared to proclaim these things in the streets and cities, and in the pulpits, when it will be commanded to us by our most holy lord pope.³⁷

Crusade participation was, of course, a useful bargaining chip for gaining peace. Vitalien Laurent has argued that ‘the principle of participation in the [crusade] league was imposed on [Michael] by necessity; a crusade, conducted without him, would come to its end against him.’³⁸ Laurent has poorly understood Gregory’s desire for peace, which had led to the church union at Lyons. Gregory was focused on rescuing the Holy Land, not taking back Constantinople. Even though Gregory had threatened Michael in his earliest letter that unless the union were affected quickly, he might use other options (in other words, he might condone Charles’ invasion), it was probably only a scare tactic.³⁹ Indeed, as Nikolaos Chrissis has noted on this point, ‘Gregory’s actual policy and personal view were more positive towards Union than these reservations would allow.’⁴⁰ Nevertheless, one can scarcely imagine that Michael would have offered his services for the crusade had he not felt threatened by Charles of Anjou.

Gregory’s letters to Michael give no indication that he coerced him into joining the crusade. Although Michael did use participation in the crusade as a way to keep invasion at bay, it was still his own idea. Indeed, in Gregory’s earliest letters to Michael, when he invited him to the general council, he made no call for him to join the crusade. Michael’s participation in the crusade was not a condition set by Gregory to gain his good favour. The first suggestion that Michael would add Greek support to the crusade came from Michael’s embassy at the council itself, not from Gregory. The fact that Michael followed his offer up one year later proves that he was serious about the crusade, and not just making promises to

³⁷ RV29A, f. 194v-195r. See Appendix A, 6:37. This letter was missed by Guiraud, but has been included here: *Notice sur cinq manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et sur un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Bordeaux, contenant des recueils épistolaires de Bérard de Naples*, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris, 1877), p. 82.

³⁸ Vitalien Laurent, ‘Le rapport de Georges le Métochite, apocrisiaire de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du Pape Grégoire X,’ *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, 23 (1946), p. 233.

³⁹ RGX, n. 194 (RV29A, f. 58v-61r).

⁴⁰ Chrissis, *Crusading in Romania*, p. 209.

Gregory to gain his favour, that he then would not keep. In 1275, Michael sent George Metochites as a messenger with full negotiating power, and the Grand Intendant Theodore as translator.⁴¹ They met Gregory at Rudolph's coronation in Lausanne in October 1275. There, George was charged by Michael to discuss the practical elements of the crusade, including transportation and supplies.

The biggest stumbling block to Michael's participation would have been his friendship with Baybars. In fact, Michael had formed a new treaty with Baybars in late 1275 or early in 1276 – at the very same time that he was offering help for Gregory's crusade. Evidence of Michael's new negotiations with Baybars comes from Makrizi. He noted that Baybars had returned to Cairo on 17 January 1276.⁴² There, 'the ambassadors of Emperor Lascaris, those of Alfonso, and those of the city of Genoa received their farewell audience [with Baybars].'⁴³ Evidently, they had arrived some time before this date. There is reason for pause at the mention of 'Emperor Lascaris.' Emperor John Lascaris IV had been deposed and blinded by Michael Palaeologus in 1261. Although Deno Geanakoplos noted that Charles of Anjou was said to have tried to bring Lascaris to his court, he added that stronger evidence pointed to Lascaris having been sent to a monastery after he was blinded.⁴⁴ If Lascaris had been with Charles of Anjou (which is not likely), then his representative would probably not be travelling with Alfonso and the Genoese, who had very poor relations with the Sicilian king. Instead, Makrizi's text might finally give further clarification to Geanakoplos' mystery surrounding relations between Alfonso of Castile and Michael Palaeologus. Geanakoplos wrote:

⁴¹ Geanakoplos, in what was probably simply a mistake rather than a genuine misinterpretation of the sources, placed the embassy to Gregory in summer 1276 in Beaucaire. Gregory was dead by then, and George was clear to say that he met Gregory in autumn, at the crowning of the king of the Romans. This was in Lausanne in 1275. Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 287. For evidence of George's position, and the dating of the embassy, see: Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 436-7 & 439.

⁴² The 28th day of Rajab, 674. Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 127.

⁴³ Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 127. See also *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, vol. 3, *Regesten von 1204-1282*, ed. Franz Dölger, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A: Regesten* (Munich, 1932), p. 66.

⁴⁴ Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 217-8.

In view of the anti-Angevin alliance between Genoa and the Lombard Ghibellines on the one hand, and Genoa and Palaeologus on the other, diplomatic relations between the Ghibellines, especially their patron Alfonso X of Castile, and Michael would seem only natural. Yet so far as I have been able to discover, only a single source, *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, explicitly couples the names of the two rulers at this time. Under the year 1271 it states that Alfonso contemplated a Byzantine alliance through the marriage of one of his daughters to a son of Michael.⁴⁵

Geanakoplos added that Alfonso had sent William, count of Ventimiglia to treat with the north Italian Ghibellines in 1271; this William had been given a daughter of Emperor Theodore II *Lascaris* in marriage by Michael Palaeologus; finally, Michael himself had sent William to Genoa in 1273 or 1274 as his own personal envoy.⁴⁶ Thus, it seems possible that Makrizi's messenger from 'Emperor Lascaris' was actually William, and the presence of the three embassies together at the sultan's court was then not a coincidence, since they had close relations with each other.

Laurent has seen Michael's new treaty with the Mamluks as proof that he was not intending to break relations with Baybars any time soon.⁴⁷ It seems more likely that, in true Byzantine fashion, he was simply hedging his bets. If the crusade failed to launch, Michael would have the safety of renewed relations with Baybars. But if the crusade did end up going ahead in force, he could take up a papal offer to ignore his treaty with Baybars. Indeed, in May 1276 Pope Innocent V noted that the emperor's messengers had informed him that Michael had a sworn friendship with Baybars.⁴⁸ For the sake of the crusade, Innocent gave Michael his blessing to ignore any treaties of friendship with the sultan.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 252.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 253.

⁴⁷ Vitalien Laurent, 'Grégoire X (1271-1276) et le projet d'une ligue antiturque,' *Echoes d'Orient*, 37 (1938), p. 264.

⁴⁸ *RV29A*, f. 198v-199r. These messengers had been the same that had met with Pope Gregory X in October 1275, but of course he had died before they could continue their negotiations with him. They met with Pope Innocent V instead.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

The Participation of Rudolph of Habsburg and Ottokar of Bohemia

Unlike King Philip, Charles of Anjou, and King Edward, Rudolph of Habsburg had never crusaded before. His participation in the crusade was not tied to any previously unfulfilled vow, advantageous geographical location, or any particular expertise as a warrior in the Holy Land, although his father, Albert IV, count of Habsburg, had died on crusade in the Holy Land in 1239.⁵⁰ Rather, Rudolph showed himself willing to crusade in order to secure Gregory's support for his election to the kingship of the Romans. There is no direct evidence that Gregory tied Rudolph's imperial title to the fulfillment of his crusading vow, but as will be demonstrated, the course of events around the imperial coronation and the launching of the crusade make it seem that Gregory did connect the two. It appears that the pope wanted to make sure that Rudolph would not renege on his promise, so he shrewdly withheld the imperial title until they were both in Rome, when it was only a few months until the crusade would have launched. In this way, the disruptive political circumstances in the West which resulted from the conflict for the kingship of the Romans and the imperial title were actually used by Gregory *in favour* of the crusade. There is some precedent for this in Emperor Frederick II, but the parallel should not be taken too far. In contrast to Rudolph of Habsburg, when Frederick was crowned king of the Romans in 1215, he took the cross at his own initiative against the will of Pope Innocent III (indeed without the pope's knowledge).⁵¹ Eventually the papacy came around strongly to endorse Frederick's vow, and at the imperial coronation in 1220 the papal curia 'saw the crusade as Frederick's first major act as emperor.'⁵² In this earlier case, although the imperial coronation was tied to the crusade vow, it was done by Frederick himself, who had 'seized the chance of the coronation to affirm

⁵⁰ *RGX*, n. 669 (*RV29A*, f. 36v-37r).

⁵¹ Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 121.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 138.

again his crusading vows.⁵³ Thus, Gregory X's apparent initiative linking the coronation and crusade went a step further than his predecessors. Finally, it is also with the case of Rudolph that the clearest details emerge about the scale of Gregory's crusade, since chronicle evidence has survived which give some specifics on the size of Rudolph's contingent. Rudolph (like Edward) was also actively encouraged to aid the Holy Land by its residents.

After Rudolph had been officially recognised as king of the Romans by Gregory in September 1274, and after Alfonso of Castile had been (seemingly) pacified at Beaucaire in July 1275, Gregory met with Rudolph in Lausanne to crown him. As discussed in chapter five, Rudolph had used an offer to crusade in the Holy Land as a way of securing Gregory's support for his election as king of the Romans. Thus it was at Lausanne, where Rudolph was crowned by Gregory in October 1275, that he took up the cross. He did this with his wife, Gertrude of Hohenburg, who had been crowned queen of the Romans by Gregory as well. At the same time, Frederick III, duke of Lorraine, as well as Louis II, duke of Upper Bavaria and count-palatine of the Rhine, and his wife Matilda of Habsburg, took up the cross.⁵⁴ Ties of kinship no doubt influenced these barons to join Rudolph in his crusading venture. Matilda, wife of Louis II, was the daughter of Rudolph. Frederick III was the uncle (by marriage) of John II of Brittany, who had taken up the cross in 1275 as well.⁵⁵ By ensuring that Rudolph's crowning was done at the same time as he took up the cross, Gregory had secured quite a coup for his crusade. One of the great political problems of his reign had been turned to the advantage of the crusade.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Rudolph and his wife, along with the dukes of Lorraine and Upper Bavaria, and 500 other knights personally took the cross from the pope in Lausanne according to: *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna*, p. 411. Rudolph and his wife, the duke of Upper Bavaria (here given his other title, count-palatine of the Rhine) and his wife were noted by: *Annales Basileenses, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 17 (Hannover, 1861), p. 198; *Annales Suevici, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 17 (Hannover, 1861), p. 283. See also: *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, p. 801; Bernard Gui, *E Floribus Chronicorum*, p. 703; Bartholomew of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica Nova*, p. 585; Salimbene, *Chronicle*, p. 499; Martin of Opava, *Chronicon Pontificum*, p. 442; Thomas Tusci, *Gesta Imperatorum et Pontificum, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 22 (Hannover, 1872), p. 525; *Flores Temporum Auctore Fratre Ord. Minorum, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 24 (Hannover, 1879), p. 241; *RV29A*, f. 198v-199r; Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 385-6.

⁵⁵ *RGX*, n. 960.

Rudolph's crowning as king of the Romans put him in a powerful position. Since he had also taken up the cross, the residents of the Holy Land saw the opportunity that had been afforded to them for great aid. Balian, the constable of Jerusalem, as well as Patriarch Thomas and King Hugh all wrote to Rudolph to inform him of the condition of the Holy Land, and to tell him what was needed there, as has been discussed in chapter two. King Hugh said that he was eagerly awaiting Rudolph's vowed arrival.⁵⁶ But with the agreement of Gregory and Rudolph, that arrival would have to wait until after a still greater prize had been won by Rudolph – the imperial title. The annals of Basel noted that the date for the coronation in Rome was set for Pentecost in 1276, which would have been 24 May.⁵⁷ The annals of Basel are one of the more reliable sources for these events, since the bishop of Basel had been ordained at Lausanne by Gregory at the same time that Rudolph was there.⁵⁸ Given that these annals have some of the closest detail of these events, it is reasonable to assume that the chronicler had either been present, or had been well-informed by those who were there. Nevertheless, the annalist has made what seems like a mistake by confusing the date of the imperial coronation with the date from which the launching of the crusade was set. The annals of Basel had noted that the pope and the emperor would be crossing over the sea after the feast of the purification, which was 2 February 1276.⁵⁹ Instead, it seems more likely that 2 February 1276 was the date for the coronation, and 24 May the date from which the crusade was set. This seems even more possible given that in this same work, on the very same page, the editor noted that the manuscript had confused the date that Rudolph held court in Würzburg, placing it at the feast of the purification at one point, and Pentecost at another.⁶⁰ Solid corroboration can be gained in the annals of St Rupert of Salzburg, which, after telling of Gregory's crowning of Rudolph at Lausanne, noted that they had delayed the imperial

⁵⁶ *CER*, p. 67-8, n. 6.

⁵⁷ *Annales Basileenses*, p. 198.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, note 'b'.

consecration and coronation until the feast of the purification.⁶¹ It seems then that Gregory was to crown Rudolph as emperor in February 1276, since the pope died in Arezzo while he was travelling back to Rome in January 1276 to do this.

Had Rudolph gone on crusade, he might have brought a sizable contingent. The chronicle of St Peter of Erfurt noted that 500 knights had taken the cross with Rudolph at Lausanne.⁶² The *Continuatio Vindobonensis* noted that Gregory promised to cross overseas with Rudolph with 1,000 knights.⁶³ Finally, the annals of Basel noted that the pope had asked Rudolph to arrive in Rome for his coronation with 2,000 knights.⁶⁴ It is not certain if these 2,000 would have been those who had taken up the cross, but since the same annals noted that after the coronation Gregory and Rudolph would be going overseas, it seems likely. Whatever the precise number, Gregory was already starting to channel funding to Rudolph to help his expenses. Pope Clement IV had given funding to King Louis IX in the lead up to his crusade as well: a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a twentieth from elsewhere.⁶⁵ Gregory gave Rudolph 12,000 marks from the Lyons tenth in 1275, and Rudolph was already requesting more by the end of the year.⁶⁶ No doubt this was ultimately to be for crusading expenses, but first it was to help in the pacification of Italy. As discussed in chapter five, William of Montferrat, aided by King Alfonso, was still causing trouble there. Gregory had asked Rudolph to send troops to Lombardy, and the king himself had gone to settle the region and to make his presence as king of the Romans felt.⁶⁷ It was perhaps this conflict, and that between Rudolph and Ottokar, which led William of Beaujeu to lament that ‘[the inhabitants of the Holy Land] are hindered from the discords of the kings and princes in

⁶¹ *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, p. 801.

⁶² *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna*, p. 411.

⁶³ *Continuatio Vindobonensis, MGH, Scriptorum*, vol. 9 (Hannover, 1851), p. 705.

⁶⁴ *Annales Basileenses*, p. 198.

⁶⁵ Richard, *Saint Louis*, p. 536.

⁶⁶ *Annales Basileenses*, p. 198. A letter from Rudolph to Gregory in November or December 1275 asked for 3,000 more marks, in addition to the 12,000 that he had evidently already received. *CER*, p. 87-8, n. 22.

⁶⁷ *RGX*, n. 909. *CER*, p. 96-7, n. 29.

places west of the Babylonians; the arrogance shakes us and wickedness troubles us, and they strain Christendom on this side of the sea with newly introduced occasions to trample down strength.’⁶⁸

In the end, Rudolph never received the imperial title, and never went on crusade. Gregory’s death put an end to them both, but even while he was dying, Gregory was still trying to get Rudolph to fulfill his vow. One of Gregory’s last and most poignant letters was written to Rudolph in January 1276. He encouraged him to support the Church, and to do good works. Gregory wrote:

Whether God rescues us from the toil of this sickness, or leads us out from the prison of bodily frailty, may you always respect and have special regard for his Church, and may you busy yourself to confer peace and calm to it, just as a most pious prince and most Christian emperor, so that, whether we live or we die, we may glorify your good works in his presence, whom indeed we have assisted in the present life on behalf of the debt of our servitude. And presupposing his mercy, if he will have wished to summon us, we would proceed with confidence.⁶⁹

Even Gregory’s heartfelt letter to Rudolph was not enough to prevent what happened after the pope’s death. War between Rudolph and Ottokar erupted, and effectively prevented Rudolph from going to the Holy Land. Of course it is impossible to say with absolute certainty if war between the two kings could have been averted had Gregory lived, but some indication of Ottokar’s frame of mind can perhaps be gained from the fact that he was in contact with Sultan Baybars at some time in 1275 to seek his friendship.⁷⁰ The letter contained no concrete offer in terms of working together, and gave away no information about the upcoming crusade. The most likely reason for the letter was simply to try to convince Baybars to send a

⁶⁸ Redlich, *Wiener Briefsammlung*, p. 64. See Appendix A, 6:68.

⁶⁹ *CER*, p. 97-9, n. 30. See Appendix A, 6:69.

⁷⁰ *Codex Epistolaris Primislai Ottocari II*, p. 32-3.

relic of St Catherine or of the True Cross.⁷¹ There is no evidence that a reply was ever made, or that the letter was ever followed up; thus, Ottokar was probably not seriously considering an alliance with Baybars.

Ottokar, for his part, had sought to end the tensions between himself and Rudolph, but only on terms very favourable to himself. He wanted to keep possession of all his territories that Rudolph had ordered must revert to the crown.⁷² To sweeten the deal, Ottokar had promised Gregory in 1274 that he would go on crusade personally. This might seem like an ideal situation, but in fact Ottokar added the stipulation that the crusade would have to be delayed for four years.⁷³ Furthermore, he never explicitly said that he would recognise Rudolph's title, only that he was submitting to the pope.⁷⁴ Gatto has written that Ottokar offered to recognise Rudolph's title after they came back from crusade, but this is supposition.⁷⁵ Ottokar wrote, in fact, that he did not recognise Rudolph's election.⁷⁶ He referred to restoring harmony between himself and Rudolph, but this does not mean that he would recognise Rudolph as king of the Romans. Nevertheless, Gatto was right to believe that 'Gregory had been placed in an unpleasant situation: either accept the request for Ottokar and seriously damage the rights of Rudolph and the empire, or reject it and risk incurring the reproach of neglecting the interests of the Holy Land.'⁷⁷

Ottokar had been showing deference to the pope, but the year 1275 saw increasing tension between them. Ottokar's offer to crusade (under the above stipulations) had been made in 1274, and Gregory had been delighted at the time to think that Ottokar was finally

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 392-4.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Proof that Ottokar's offer to crusade in four years time came first in 1274 comes from Bruno of Olomouc, who had written on the matter to Pope Gregory X. Bruno of Olomouc, 'Relatio de Negotio Imperii,' *MGH, Legum Sectio IV: Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, vol. 3 (Hannover, 1904-6), p. 594.

⁷⁴ *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 392-4.

⁷⁵ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 202.

⁷⁶ *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 392-4.

⁷⁷ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 203.

easing tensions.⁷⁸ But Ottokar's letter to Gregory on 9 March 1275, in which the details of his original offer to crusade are extant, made no progress.⁷⁹ Gregory told him as much in his response on 2 May 1275. Gregory's increasing exasperation with Ottokar started to become clear when he wrote that Ottokar's letters were 'not containing anything new,' and they were 'repeating what you had written hitherto in different words.'⁸⁰ Thus, it is clear that Gregory had rejected Ottokar's crusade-delaying proposal even before March 1275. Gregory reiterated that 'we do not intend to change the laws of the empire or to disparage its customs; on account of that, it is neither expedient, nor becoming for us to forbid duty to the king of the Romans.'⁸¹ Nevertheless, Gregory reassured Ottokar that the money being collected in his land for the Lyons tax was going 'neither to Rudolph nor to any other,' but it was established that 'whichever king personally took up the business of the Holy Land may obtain the tenth in his lands for carrying out the business of the Holy Land. We propose to deny neither Rudolph nor you.'⁸²

Later, on 22 July 1275, Gregory's tone became quite obviously one of annoyance. He phrased the letter as a series of exasperated questions, such as: 'what has so carried off your royal consideration from the path of reason, that you would rush forth into things, which you have sent to us by your letters?'⁸³ The named letters are no longer extant, so it is not clear what Ottokar had planned at that time, but clearly it was not as Gregory wanted. Given that this is the last extant letter between Gregory and Ottokar, it might indicate a final breakdown in their relations. There is, however, no corroborating evidence that this occurred. For his part, Gregory told Ottokar that 'we will not desist from the undertaking, but effectually with the author of peace leading the way we will insist on a treaty of peace between you and the

⁷⁸ *RGX*, n. 829 (*RV29A*, f. 169r).

⁷⁹ *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 392-4.

⁸⁰ *RGX*, n. 716 (*RV29A*, f. 50r-50v). Also in *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 400. See Appendix A, 6:80.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:81.

⁸² *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:82.

⁸³ *RGX*, n. 722 (*RV29A*, f. 51v-52r). Also in *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 407-8. See Appendix A, 6:83.

king of the Romans.’⁸⁴ Peace was essential in Gregory’s mind for the successful launching of his crusade, but perhaps Gregory was being too optimistic about his chances of keeping the peace.⁸⁵ Indeed, Gatto has alleged that Ottokar was not genuine in his search for peace, and he ‘really just wanted to pass the time necessary to complete his armament [for war against Rudolph].’⁸⁶ The onset of war after Gregory’s death would seem to bear out the truth of this. However, Gregory clearly did have confidence that he could see his plans through despite the tensions with Ottokar, since he went ahead with the coronation of Rudolph as king of the Romans later in the year, and he was going to Rome at the time of his death in preparation for Rudolph’s imperial coronation and their departure on crusade without any apparent change of plans.⁸⁷

The Participation of Edward of England

King Edward I of England had only just returned from the Holy Land near the beginning of Gregory’s pontificate. Thus, among the western crusade leaders, he was arguably the best informed of the situation on the ground from his personal experience. Charles of Anjou was frequently sending supplies to the Holy Land, through which he could gain information, but Edward had actually been there recently, and had engaged the enemy. For this reason, Edward’s participation in the crusade would have been coveted by Gregory. But for the very reason that Edward had shown himself a willing crusader by going to the Holy Land, it was less easy for Gregory to convince him to return there again so soon. Edward had completed his vow, and moreover, he had just become king of England after the

⁸⁴ *RGX*, n. 722 (*RV29A*, f. 51v-52r). Also in *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 407-8. See Appendix A, 6:84.

⁸⁵ See, for example, the following letters in which Gregory connected conflict within Christendom to the delay of the crusade. *RGX*, n. 832 (*RV29A*, f. 169v-170r). *RGX*, n. 653 (*RV37*, f. 246). A copy can be found here: *RGX*, n. 961. Bruno of Olomouc has also written on this necessity, as has been discussed by Palmer Throop. *Criticism*, p. 106-7.

⁸⁶ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 205.

⁸⁷ The *Eracles* noted that Gregory was going to Rome for the imperial coronation. *Eracles*, p. 473.

death of his father on 16 November 1272. He had affairs to set in order in England. Philip of France had recently taken up his crown as well, and had decided to join Gregory's crusade, but Philip came to the throne of a country that was left in excellent order by his father, whereas England had only recently been through civil war.

Though Edward certainly had good reasons for not participating in Gregory's crusade, that did not stop the pope from asking him. Norman Housley has argued that Edward 'regarded a new crusade as the ultimate objective of his reign and maintained a consistent interest in the Holy Land.'⁸⁸ The existence of an 'interest' in crusade seems to be the case during Gregory's reign itself, and Simon Lloyd and Sylvia Schein have taken a step too far by asserting that Edward had promised to take the cross by November 1275.⁸⁹ They cited two letters from Gregory to the bishop of Verdun in November 1275 in which the pope allowed the bishop to assign the Lyons tax to Edward from his kingdom *if* he assumed the cross.⁹⁰ Even in the later letter, dated 24 November, it is clear that the 'if' still stood.⁹¹ Edward had not promised to take up the cross; if he had, then he would certainly have been mentioned among the list of great participants in Pope Innocent V's May 1276 letter to Emperor Michael Palaeologus.⁹² As this section will show, sources from during Gregory's papacy show that Edward was genuinely interested in joining the new crusade, and had not ruled out answering Gregory's call. Nevertheless, by the time of Gregory's death, Edward could not be counted among its participants. This was not because he was uninterested in the crusade or opposed to Gregory – far from it – but rather because he had a legitimate need as a new king to stay to govern his country amid its difficulties.

Given that Edward had just returned from the crusade, Gregory did not immediately try to convince him to take up the cross again. He did, however, still receive advice on the

⁸⁸ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 11.

⁸⁹ Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1988), p. 233; Schein, *Fideles*, p. 45-6.

⁹⁰ *RGX*, n. 945 & 960.

⁹¹ *RGX*, n. 960.

⁹² *RV29A*, f. 198v-199r.

condition of the Holy Land from the recent crusader in April 1273, before the general council, as has been discussed chapter two.⁹³ The presence of Edward at the general council would have been invaluable, since his reputation as a crusader was high.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Edward, like all the other kings save James of Aragon, decided not to attend the council. In all fairness, Edward had only just returned to England. He would barely have had time to set his affairs in order before having to leave for the council, which was to begin in late spring 1274. Officially, Edward was not able to attend the council because his coronation was scheduled then, but this seems very convenient timing. One cannot but suspect that Edward had picked this time so that he would have a better excuse to avoid the council, and thus to avoid pressure to take up the cross again so soon. Gregory must have suspected so as well, since he wrote to Edward in December 1273 urging him to either move the date of his coronation forward, or else delay it until after the council, so that he could attend.⁹⁵ No response is extant from Edward, but at any rate, he did not change his mind. This need not be taken as complete unwillingness on Edward's part for taking up the crusade. It was still early days in the crusade planning.

Crusading was an expensive endeavour, and Edward had only just returned home. An argument could be made that it would be far too expensive for Edward to take up the cross again so soon, and that this was what made him hesitate. After all, as has been discussed in chapter three, Edward had been trying to ease his debt concerns even while he was still in the Holy Land.⁹⁶ On 30 September 1272, Gregory had written to the clergy in England so that they would give Edward and Edmund money from ecclesiastical returns for their crusade

⁹³ *RGX*, n. 811 (*RV29A*, f. 163v-164v); *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 3, p. 29; *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 557; *Annales Urbevetani*, p. 270.

⁹⁴ Michael Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I* (London, 1972), p. 46.

⁹⁵ *RGX*, n. 327 (*RV37*, f. 109r). Also printed in *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 508.

⁹⁶ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 266-7, n. 3445.

expenses.⁹⁷ However, by August 1274, Edward's debt had already been paid-off in full, so this could no longer serve as a potential excuse.⁹⁸ Moreover, the money being raised by Gregory's six-year tenth tax on all the churches was for the very purpose of ensuring that the crusaders would be well-funded.

Even though Edward did not attend the general council, he still kept himself up-to-date on the condition of the Holy Land throughout Gregory's reign. This demonstrates that he did, as Housley suggested, maintain a consistent interest in it. If Edward had no intention of taking up the cross again, he would hardly have needed to stay well-informed about the Holy Land. Indeed, sources from 1274 and 1275, while Gregory was planning his crusade, show that Edward was staying in very close contact with the Holy Land. Gregory had sent the archbishop of Tyre to King Edward in 1274 so that he could tell him first-hand about what the archbishop 'has considered putting forth to the advantage of the Holy Land.'⁹⁹ In January 1275, the Mongol Ilkhan Abagha had been in contact with Edward to try to get information about the upcoming crusade (which Edward was not able to give at that time).¹⁰⁰ In September and October 1275, Edward had also received letters from both the master of the Hospital and of the Temple about the condition of the Holy Land. Hugh Revel wrote because he apparently believed that Edward wanted news of the Holy Land.¹⁰¹ William of Beaujeu wrote to Edward because the business of the Holy Land 'rests (as we hope) upon the royal heart.'¹⁰² Edward's continuing interest in the Holy Land gives strong indication that he was seriously considering returning there, perhaps on Gregory's crusade.

⁹⁷ As discussed in chapter three. *RGX*, n. 186 (*RV37*, f. 56r). *RGX*, n. 193 (*RV37*, f. 58r-58v). See also *RGX*, n. 920, and W.E. Lunt, 'Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I,' *English Historical Review* 30, n. 119 (July 1915), 398-417.

⁹⁸ The Templars wrote to Edward that they had received 24,974 *livres tournois* in one instalment from the king, and 5,333 *livres tournois*, 6 schillings, and 8 pence, in another instalment from the king, which fully satisfied the loan. *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 514.

⁹⁹ 'Ad eiusdem terre utilitatem duxit exponenda.' *RGX*, n. 820 (*RV29A*, f. 167r-167v).

¹⁰⁰ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 520.

¹⁰¹ *CG*, vol. 3, p. 330, n. 3584. Kohler & Langlois, 'Lettres inédites,' p. 53.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 55. See Appendix A, 6:102.

Edward's thoughts about crusading are made most clearly in his May 1275 letter to his brother-in-law King Alfonso. Edward wrote:

One may see, because the lord high pontiff asked us recently with urgent needs whether we wish to proceed or not in aid of the Holy Land, to which thus far we have not been able to respond because we have not yet deliberated what we ought to do about it, namely, to proceed, or indeed to remain. Afterwards, however, having held deliberation about the aforesaid things, we will have answered the aforesaid high pontiff.¹⁰³

Edward must never have given Gregory a firm 'no' about his crusade participation. This ambivalence is likely what led Gregory write to the bishop of Verdun in November 1275 to tell him that the money from the Lyons tax could be given to Edward if he took up the cross.¹⁰⁴ This was a good incentive for any crusader, and Gregory made clear use of it in this case to try to entice Edward to join the crusade, just as the pope had done with Alfonso in Iberia. In this same letter, there is proof that John II of Brittany, earl of Richmond, had taken up the cross.¹⁰⁵ John had been on crusade with Edward, and was married to Edward's sister Beatrice, who had died earlier in 1275. It is supposition, but perhaps her death, and a feeling of unfinished business in the Holy Land, led John to take up the cross for a second time. As a close associate of Edward, John's participation must have made Gregory all the more hopeful that Edward, too, would soon be taking up the cross.

Had Gregory lived, it is surely likely that Edward would have joined his crusade. The only participants from Britain and Ireland who had been confirmed by the time of Gregory's death were the earl of Richmond and the archbishop of Cashel.¹⁰⁶ But to stay behind when the kings of France and of the Romans were going would have been an embarrassment for Edward. Proof that Edward would have taken up the cross comes after Gregory's death.

¹⁰³ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 522. See Appendix A, 6:103.

¹⁰⁴ *RGX*, n. 945 & 960.

¹⁰⁵ Not to be mistaken for John I, duke of Brittany, who was still alive. The elder John had ceded his claim as earl of Richmond to his son John II of Brittany in 1268.

¹⁰⁶ Gregory had written to Edward in October 1274 about David MacCerbail, archbishop of Cashel, taking up the cross. *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 517.

During his brief papal tenure, Pope Innocent V had written to Edward with strong encouragement to take up the cross, which, he said, would encourage other people to do the same.¹⁰⁷ He noted that many other princes had already taken up the cross, and the Church was supporting the burden of the crusade.¹⁰⁸ Although Edward's response to Innocent encouraged the pope in the business of the Holy Land, and he showed interest in its welfare, Edward still made no commitment.¹⁰⁹ But Edward's concern for the Holy Land still showed clearly in November 1276, when he wrote to King Philip that his conflict with King Alfonso, at a time when 'Christendom lies exposed to dangers, would produce an obstacle to the business of the Holy Land and threaten an overthrow to Christians.'¹¹⁰ Edward said he himself was busy with struggles in Ireland and Wales, but he would make time to meet with Philip.¹¹¹ However, it was in the next month, December 1276, that the surest sign came of Edward's favourable disposition to crusading. Edward wrote to Pope John XXI (formerly Gregory X's physician) that he was giving full power to two of his clerks, 'so that in the next general passage to the Holy Land, we may depart personally to the same land, or our dearest brother, Edmund, count of Lancaster, will go there for us.'¹¹² Schein has interpreted this letter as a show of further hesitation on Edward's part, but this is not giving Edward enough credit, and besides the stipulation that Edmund may go in his place, Edward was clearly committing his forces to the crusade.¹¹³ Schein also asserted that Edward tried to make John XXI count his Tunis crusade as a fulfillment of his crusade vow, but she has very seriously misinterpreted the source here.¹¹⁴ Edward was the only leader actually to have completed his vow, so there was no need to do it again. Indeed, the source that Schein cited claimed something completely

¹⁰⁷ RV29A, f. 172v-173r.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 532.

¹¹⁰ *Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV*, ed. M. Champollion-Figeac, vol. 1 (Paris, 1839), p. 185. See Appendix A, 6:110.

¹¹¹ *Lettres de rois*, p. 185.

¹¹² *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 537. See Appendix A, 6:112.

¹¹³ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 54.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

different. Edward wrote to one of his representatives that he was trying to get John XXI to delay the sheriff of Ventodoro's vow, not his own!¹¹⁵ Ultimately, Edward's letter to John XXI gives a good indication that he would have taken up Gregory's crusade, but with Gregory dead, this never came to fruition.

Iberian and Genoese Participation

Participation from the Iberian Peninsula in Gregory's crusade would have had great appeal, given that its residents had longstanding and ongoing experience in fighting against the Muslims in Iberia and North African. Yet, as has been discussed in chapter five, this conflict invariably meant that some of the potential participants in Gregory's crusade to the Holy Land would have to remain in Iberia. Archbishop Sancho, Prince Emmanuel, and Nuño González of Lara can be counted among this group, though James of Aragon had promised his presence in the Holy Land, and there is evidence from Pope Innocent V that King Alfonso III of Portugal, too, had taken up the cross for the Holy Land crusade.¹¹⁶ It does not seem, however, that King Alfonso X of Castile ever took up the cross when he returned to his kingdom to fight off the invaders. Gregory's letters about Alfonso of Castile in connection to the invasion of Iberia, and to receiving money from the Lyons tenth, made no mention of him as a crusader. For all intents and purposes, however, one may count Alfonso of Castile among the participants, since he did indeed receive funding for it, and he was carrying out the crusade in Iberia, as has been discussed in chapter five.

¹¹⁵ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 542.

¹¹⁶ Innocent listed King Alfonso III of Portugal among those who had taken up the cross for Gregory's crusade. *RV29A*, f. 198v-199r. In September 1275, Pope Gregory X had threatened Alfonso of Portugal with excommunication if he or his successors (Alfonso was quite aged) did not make reforms to the Portuguese church, although he made no mention of the Holy Land or the crusade. Sylvia Schein has noted that Alfonso had never fulfilled his vow from 1268. Schein, *Fideles*, p. 53. During Gregory's actual papal reign, Alfonso of Portugal cannot have been considered a crusader, since Prince Emmanuel of Castile was asking for the tenth from Portugal for his own crusade to the Holy Land. *RGX*, n. 840 (*RV37*, f. 171v). Without any other extant evidence, one cannot but suspect that Alfonso of Portugal had taken up the cross again in connection with these issues. *RGX*, n. 628 (*RV37*, f. 233v-236r).

Alfonso of Castile's long-term commitment to Gregory's crusade plans is much less certain. Even though he had secured money from Gregory to carry out the crusade, his chronicler noted that the king returned to Iberia and saw that his son Prince Sancho had reinforced the kingdom, and 'because King Alfonso was not prepared to make war, nor did he know anything about the state of the affairs of his kingdoms, he looked for a way to have a truce with Abu Yusuf and the king of Granada.'¹¹⁷ A truce was then signed for two years.¹¹⁸ This does not seem to have happened as quickly as the chronicler implied. The chronicler noted that Alfonso had returned to Iberia in 1276, but O'Callaghan has made it clear that the king had arrived in Aragon by November 1275, and thence to Alcala on 2 December 1275.¹¹⁹ In addition, there is evidence from 7 January 1276 that King Edward was still trying to help his brother-in-law Alfonso in his fight against the Marinids.¹²⁰ Edward had written to his people in Bayonne that the Muslim invasion of Alfonso's lands was a threat to all Christendom.¹²¹ Edward urged them to direct their ships in aid of Alfonso on the sea, lest the Muslim army advance into Alfonso's land, or into that of other Christians.¹²² Given this, Alfonso must still have been making some preparations for a longer war, even while he was looking for peace.

At the same time that Edward was arranging help for his brother-in-law, Alfonso had messengers at the court of Sultan Baybars. Makrizi noted that Baybars had returned to Cairo on 17 January 1276.¹²³ There, as aforementioned, 'the ambassadors of Emperor Lascaris, those of Alfonso, and those of the city of Genoa received their farewell audience [with Baybars].'¹²⁴ Unfortunately, there is no direct indication of the reason for this embassy, but

¹¹⁷ *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, p. 216.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹¹⁹ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 236.

¹²⁰ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 531.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ The 28th day of Rajab, 674. Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 127.

¹²⁴ Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 127.

this was not the first exchange of embassies between Alfonso and Baybars. O'Callaghan noted that in 1261 the sultan had sent an embassy with gifts to Alfonso in the hope of developing trade relations.¹²⁵ Alfonso had sent a messenger to Baybars in 1265.¹²⁶ He had repeated this in 1268 with a messenger carrying a letter 'in which he expressed his friendship and presented his services,' to which Baybars was said to have 'responded with acceptance.'¹²⁷ It is not very likely that Alfonso was offering any more 'services' than increased trade relations. Ibn al-Furāt was probably embellishing the situation to make Baybars seem more powerful. But given that Alfonso was looking for peace with the Marinids in 1276, his embassy to Baybars at that time likely had something to do with forming peace. It would also make sense for Alfonso's messengers to be travelling with the Genoese, since they were close allies.

What, then, did the presence of these messengers mean for Gregory's crusading plans? It is tempting to jump to the conclusion that Alfonso, having been disappointed by Gregory in his desire for the kingship of the Romans, was now throwing the new crusade into danger through an alliance with Baybars, but this was probably not the case. The presence of the Genoese with the messengers of Alfonso and Michael reinforces the notion that the embassy was commercially motivated (in addition to Alfonso's need for a peace treaty). The Genoese had ties with Michael Palaeologus, which would have made it much easier for their merchants to ship military slaves from the Black Sea to Egypt. Bratianu wrote that this relationship had been briefly disrupted in 1275, but had been patched up in the same year.¹²⁸ The Genoese also had long maintained a trading relationship with Egypt.¹²⁹ Eliyahu Ashtor has attributed the January 1276 embassy to forming a new trade treaty, although he wrongly set the date at 1275, since he seemingly used the inaccurate western date that the editor of

¹²⁵ O'Callaghan, *Learned King*, p. 207.

¹²⁶ See both Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 83, and Makrizi, *Histoire*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 24.

¹²⁷ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 132.

¹²⁸ G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 138-40.

¹²⁹ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), p. 11.

Makrizi's text had provided.¹³⁰ Ashtor noted that 'both Genoa and the Mamluks were interested in remaining on good terms with one another, and the dependence of the sultans of Cairo on the supply of the military slaves was so great that the Genoese could hold their position in Alexandria despite the expeditions of their war fleets, which supported the crusaders against the sultan.'¹³¹

Echoing the prohibitions of Pope Innocent III, trade in military supplies with the Muslims had been strictly forbidden by Gregory X from the outset of his reign. On 31 March 1272, Gregory had written to the Genoese, Marseillais, Venetians, and Pisans that Christians in name only 'are strengthening the enemies of Christ with victuals, arms, naval equipment, and other necessities.'¹³² He thus decreed that:

The apostolic see, [...] wishing to apply a remedy for those false and impious Christians who would presume to deliver arms, iron, and the timber of galleys to the Saracens, those indeed who would sell galleys to them, or whoever would exercise the responsibility of piloting the ships in the piratical navies of the Saracens, or [who] would devote any aid or counsel to them in siege weapons or whatever else, has tied them with the bond of anathema and excommunication, to be punished by the deprivation of their things, and they are to become the slaves of their captors.¹³³

¹³⁰ Ashtor relied upon the aforementioned passage from Makrizi, but also to volume seven of Ibn al-Furāt's history, which, unfortunately, has not been fully translated from the Arabic. However, a working translation has been done for me graciously by Tamer El-Khouly. In the passage, Baybars is called King al-Zahir. After connecting the Mongols to the 'Romans,' the source reads: 'Meanwhile, the Roman princes defeated each other (two were killed) and some of them joined King al-Zahir.' It seems that Ashtor has thought that these 'Roman' princes were the Genoese, but in fact they were probably Seljuk Turkish princes of Rum, especially considering the connection to the Mongols. It would seem that this episode corresponds to that which Thorau has explained: some Seljuk emirs turned against their Mongol overlords in 1276, and declared their loyalty to Baybars. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 11. For the Arabic passage, see: Ibn al-Furāt, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *The History of Ibn al-Furāt*, vol. 7 (672-682 A.H.), ed. Costi K. Zurayk (Beirut, 1942), p. 44. See also Thorau, *Lion*, p. 237.

¹³¹ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, p. 11.

¹³² RGX, n. 351 (RV29A, f. 117v-118v). See Appendix A, 6:132. The letter to the Genoese is quoted here with reference to the manuscript. The letters to the other naval powers are identical, and can be found here: RGX, n. 352-5 (RV29A, f. 119r).

¹³³ RGX, n. 351 (RV29A, f. 117v-118v). See Appendix A, 6:133.

Gregory's letter reproduced the language from a decree on the Holy Land from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Clearly, it was a long-standing problem. Gregory tried to shame the guilty merchants, telling them:

[When] the false Christians transacting trade there in those places complain this way about some burdens, the Muslims berate them with the shameful rejoinder: "if we ripped out one of your eyes you would find your way back to us with the remaining one, just like those same merchants who quickly returned to us when we were staying at that time in the Holy Land."¹³⁴

The trade must have been so lucrative for the Latin merchants that even heavy burdens placed on them did not stop them from coming back, even with the pope's prohibition.

Gregory solicited Charles of Anjou in 1273 to help prevent trade with the Muslims, explaining the problem to him much as he had done to the naval powers.¹³⁵ He encouraged Charles to work with the Hospitallers and Templars, so that 'on their return from Outremer, the transporters will present the testimonial letters of our venerable brother, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and beloved sons, the masters or the men of the Hospital and the Temple in those places.'¹³⁶ This was obviously to ensure that the supplies meant for the Holy Land were actually going where they were supposed to go. Finally, Gregory asked Charles to:

Promulgate a general edict against those who, through those things which they deliver to the Saracens against the Christians, strengthen those Saracens, so that everyone engaging in such things from your lands or those adjacent to your jurisdiction may be deprived of all their goods, which must be applied irrevocably by the state treasury, and against such things, may you investigate frequently, just as seems expedient to you, so that the edict may assume the enforcement that you consider establishing against the guilty parties of such a crime.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:134.

¹³⁵ *RGX*, n. 821 (*RV29A*, f. 167v).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:136.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:137.

Ecclesiastical censure was one thing, but it would be even better if it were reinforced by the secular arm, which is clearly what Gregory was trying to achieve with the help of Charles of Anjou.

It seems that Charles had already been making an unsuccessful attempt to prevent trade with the Muslims. In a letter from the Angevin chancery records dated around 1271, Charles ordered that two merchants of Florence, delivering supplies to Acre, not sail to the Greeks, Saracens, or Pisans, or any other enemies of the Christian faith.¹³⁸ Charles' prohibition must not have been working very well if Gregory had to remind him of it again a few years later. Nevertheless, it is clear that Charles did obey Gregory, since he told the vicar of Marseilles in August 1273 or 1274 to publish that arms and supplies should not be sent to the Muslims, under penalty.¹³⁹ Given the ongoing Genoese relationship with Baybars, it is difficult to believe that Gregory had very much success in preventing trade at all. Indeed, even while Edward was actually fighting the Muslims on his crusade in 1271-2, the Venetians had been trading with Alexandria.¹⁴⁰ If Alfonso of Castile's embassy to Baybars in January 1276 were not just connected to his desire for peace with the Marinids, but also to furthering trade relations with the sultan along with the Genoese, then Gregory's problems ran even deeper than the naval powers of Italy and southern France. Given the canonical illegality of this trade, any potential sources that would confirm this are limited. Ultimately, Ashtor's assertion that the Genoese were able to take both sides in the Crusades would likely have applied to participation in Gregory's own crusade, since it was difficult, if not impossible, to prevent trade with the Muslims.

¹³⁸ *RA*, vol. 5, p. 27, n. 124.

¹³⁹ *RA*, vol. 11, p. 315, n. 223.

¹⁴⁰ Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 380.

The Leadership of Gregory's Crusade

Gregory wanted to assemble as many of the leaders of Europe onboard his crusade as possible, and as discussed, he was very successful in this. But out of this success would have come the question of leadership. With so many high ranking people participating (who no doubt had suitably large egos), just who would lead this crusade? Norman Housley has written that 'the problems in the 1270s was that a number of rulers were genuinely interested in a crusade to the Holy Land, but none would assume the overall leadership as Louis IX had done, probably because they were afraid of financial implications.'¹⁴¹ Gregory gave no direct word on the leadership of his crusade, and in general, he was markedly guarded about disclosing information about his crusade. However, Krieger has argued that 'such a crusade promised in the eyes of the new pope to succeed only if it were conducted under the guidance and authority of a universally accepted Roman emperor. Here Gregory and his advisers were realistic enough to realize that King Alfonso of Castile would scarcely meet such expectations.'¹⁴² Krieger has taken the case a bit too far. Certainly Gregory would have desired imperial leadership, but the pope gave no indication that this was an *essential* element to his crusade's success. Housley thought it unfortunate that Charles of Anjou, given his wealth, location, and reputation as a commander, was not more interested in taking the lead.¹⁴³ Who, then, would be at the head of the army?

Housley's favoured candidate, Charles of Anjou (if he were to go instead of his son) had two crusades with his brother Louis under his belt already, and at just under 50 years old, he was now one of the elder statesmen of Europe. He also was in the midst of gaining the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the deal with Maria of Antioch being finalised in 1277. Charles had been making personal investment in the Holy Land through the ongoing

¹⁴¹ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 14.

¹⁴² Krieger, *Rudolf*, p. 90.

¹⁴³ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 14-5.

shipping of supplies. Yet he should be ruled out, because it seems that his son would be going in his stead. Another candidate, Edward of England, was in his late thirties at the time. He also had a crusade pedigree, and moreover, he had just been to the Holy Land. He was the only participating western king to have fought against Baybars' forces himself. He was also in contact with the Mongol Ilkhan Abagha, who wanted to coordinate the fight against Baybars with him. But Edward had not fully committed to the crusade yet. No real case can be made for James of Aragon, who, in his late sixties, was neither experienced in crusading in the Holy Land, nor powerful enough to be a leadership hopeful. In his late fifties, Rudolph of Habsburg was the eldest of the serious leadership candidates. As the crowned king of the Romans and soon-to-be emperor, there could not realistically be any other leader if he participated, and indeed, Jean Richard was written that the pope was relying on Rudolph for the crusade.¹⁴⁴ With such great conflict between the papacy and the emperor while the Hohenstaufen had held the title, imperial leadership had not been possible in the later thirteenth century after Frederick II's crusade. The devout Louis IX had filled this gap. But for Gregory's crusade, secular leadership would have broken with the recent French trend and returned to an emperor who had the confidence of the pope.

The crusade had been spearheaded for the last 25 years by the king of France, Louis IX. A good case can be made for the leadership of his son, Philip, but in the end, it does not seem that Gregory wanted him to lead the crusade. Philip, who was only in his early thirties at the time of Gregory's death, was the youngest of the kings to take up the cross. Even so, Gregory (who it must be remembered was very close with the French royal family) had been coordinating with Philip more than any other king from the very beginning of his papacy. Together with the Church, Philip had sent several hundred mercenaries to the Holy Land to

¹⁴⁴ Richard, *Crusades*, p. 438.

safeguard it until the general passage.¹⁴⁵ These mercenaries were being led by Philip's own liegemen – first Oliver of Termes, and after his death, William of Roussillon. This strong French mercenary force already in place would have been greatly enlarged by Philip's forces in the general passage. His very large contingent would have given him ample means to make his authority felt, even if he were not to be the leader of the crusade. It would seem to be a bit unfair to consign Philip to a secondary role, given that it was only he who had been helping the Church to send reinforcements to the Holy Land in the interim. At the least, Philip's strong contribution would have meant that he would have taken some sort of central role in the crusade.

Even though Gregory had been coordinating closely with Philip, he had reined the young king back in 1272, when Philip had evidently shown himself willing to take on the business of the Holy Land personally. Gregory was pleased that Philip was showing eagerness to help the Holy Land by crusading again, but he told him:

For, dearest son, it would not become us or our brothers to allow so great a business (strengthened by everything) to be undertaken less than prudently, nor (as much as it is in us) undoubtedly would we personally allow you especially to leap forward to such great things particularly in the auspices of your control and youth, in any other way than becomes Your Royal Excellency.¹⁴⁶

In this case, Gregory did not want Philip to go on crusade because the pope wanted an even larger crusade to be planned at the general council. However, it is worth noting here that Gregory pointed especially to being unwilling to allow Philip, in his youth, to get ahead of himself by taking control of the crusade. At this stage, Rudolph had yet to be elected king of the Romans, and Gregory was still very much in the early planning stages of his crusade. But

¹⁴⁵ Oliver of Termes had come to the Holy Land with 25 horsemen and 100 crossbowmen sent by the king of France and the Church. *Eracles*, p. 463. 700 crossbowman had arrived in late 1273 or early 1274 under Gilles of Santi and Peter of Amiens, paid for by the king of France and the Church. *Eracles*, p. 464. In late 1275, 400 more crossbowmen, 40 knights and 60 mounted sergeants had been sent by the king of France and the Church under William of Roussillon. *Eracles*, p. 467; Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 226; *Gestes*, p. 780. 'Templar,' p. 70.

¹⁴⁶ RGX, n. 788 (RV29A, f. 157r-157v). See Appendix A, 6:146.

this letter is perhaps an early indication that Gregory did not foresee Philip leading his crusade, even though there were not any solid alternatives at the time.

French leadership still had a strong supporter in Simon of Brie. Gregory had placed him as the official legate on the crusade after he had taken up the cross.¹⁴⁷ Presumably Simon would fill this role only if Gregory were unable to go himself. As legate in France, Simon was intimately associated with the French royal family, and would later be an exceptionally strong supporter of the French and Angevins when he became Pope Martin IV in 1281; indeed, as pope, Simon bowed to Charles' desire to excommunicate Michael Palaeologus, and he called a crusade against Aragon, which Philip took up. It seems likely that Charles or Philip would have had Simon's ear on the crusade. Had the crusade been able to launch, this could have led to problems if Simon had favoured Philip and Charles in his decision making over Rudolph.

After Rudolph had secured Gregory's support as king of the Romans in September 1274, the king started to receive letters from the Holy Land asking for help, as has been discussed in chapters two and three. He must have been seen to be taking some sort of leadership position to receive these letters. Although Edward also received such letters, one of Patriarch Thomas' letters to Rudolph actually indicated that the king of the Romans was thinking about leading the crusade. Thomas wrote: 'seeing that (just as the indisputable credulity of all firmly holds) you are happily considering directing the business of the [Holy] Land, and you gasp, therefore, to be informed at the present time more frequently concerning its condition.'¹⁴⁸ The letter can only be reasonably dated to 1275, but it probably fell before Rudolph had taken the cross in October of that year, which would explain why Rudolph was only 'considering directing' the crusade at this time, and not fully committed.

¹⁴⁷ *RGX*, n. 532 (*RV37*, f. 190v-191r).

¹⁴⁸ *CER*, p. 64-5, n. 4. See Appendix A, 6:148.

The Greek ambassador George Metochites does give some indication that Gregory envisioned Rudolph, when he became emperor, leading the crusade. But George extraordinarily associated Michael Palaeologus himself with leadership as well. Of Gregory, he noted:

Indeed, the strong promoter of this expedition, as much in our private counsel as on the occasion of his public speech, had affirmed several times that the crusade rested on the two arms of the Church, meaning there the two emperors, ours of Constantinople, and the Roman emperor, elected by himself and who, according to accepted usage among them, had taken the cross in our presence.¹⁴⁹

Granted, this does not directly state that the emperors would lead the crusade, only that the crusade depended upon them. With the church union in place, Gregory's crusade had the potential to be all-encompassing. Thus, George makes it clear that Gregory saw Michael as another arm of the Church, which could be directed to a common purpose. It is, however, very difficult to imagine any of the western kings, especially Charles of Anjou, serving under Michael Palaeologus. Gregory knew better than anyone after all his negotiations for peace between Charles and Michael that Charles would never have served under him. Thus, if George Metochites were talking about the crusade leadership directly, and not simply general dependence of the crusade on secular arms, then he was overinflating Michael's role.

Conflict among the leaders of the crusade had arisen in the past, with serious consequences for the crusade. For the historian, it is not difficult to recall the conflict between Philip II of France and Richard I of England during the Third Crusade, when, after the death of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, there was no clear leader of the crusade. Nevertheless, such comparisons were not made in any of Gregory's letters or in the relevant chronicles, other than the general lament in the *Collectio* about contention among princes.¹⁵⁰ If one were to look at the launch of Gregory's crusade hypothetically, with kings Philip,

¹⁴⁹ Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 439-40.

¹⁵⁰ *Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiae*, p. 39.

James, Alfonso (of Portugal), and probably Edward all onboard, and possibly even Charles of Anjou, in addition to emperors Rudolph and Michael, there would be a recipe for disaster if clear leadership were not there. Although Rudolph was to be the secular leader of the crusade as emperor, it is nearly impossible to imagine that his control would have been unquestioned by the other kings. Rudolph and Philip of France had not been getting along even before the crusade would have started.¹⁵¹ Rudolph was also at war with Philip of Savoy, who had close ties to Edward of England.¹⁵² With so much potential for discord, it is little wonder that Gregory hoped to go on the crusade with them, if only to keep the peace!

Pope Gregory X's Participation in His Crusade

Gregory's desire to join the crusade himself is one of the most notable parts of his reign. Whether it was a good idea or not is another question, which this section will address. But it should not be taken for granted that he would definitely have gone had he lived.

Gregory had written to Philip soon after the end of the general council:

We believe Your Excellency to have become acquainted how in the first session of the council recently congregated at Lyons, publicly and openly we proclaimed that if, with divine grace granting our desires, the condition of the world and the fall of emerging circumstance were allowing, we hold out to pass over the sea in the general passage with the Christian army, so that what we beneficially furnish for the liberation of the Holy Land by word to others, indeed we may also preach by deed; to this purpose, nevertheless, we bind ourselves by no vow, because we consider it neither to be expedient, nor becoming.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ *RGX*, n. 683 (*RV29A*, f. 41r).

¹⁵² As noted in chapter five, the count asked help of Edward for the conflict with Rudolph. *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 530.

¹⁵³ *RGX*, n. 1041. See Appendix A, 6:153.

The tentative nature of Gregory's personal participation in the crusade is clear in his letter to Philip. In addition, when Gregory had made Simon of Brie legate for the crusade in September 1274, he gave no indication in the letter that he would be going himself.¹⁵⁴ There was no *caveat*, for example, that Simon would be legate only if the pope himself did not go to the Holy Land. There is evidence in 1273 that Gregory had been suffering from poor health, thus it is possible that the pope had an inkling that he would not live long enough to go on his crusade.¹⁵⁵

Gregory had made it clear at the general council, just like Innocent III had done before, that the Church would be setting a good example by taking on part of the burden of crusade financing.¹⁵⁶ But Gregory was going to take the sharing of the crusade burden to a much higher level with his own participation. He wanted to practice what he preached. Never before had a pope actually led a crusade to the Holy Land, although Gregory VII had long ago offered to lead a crusade himself. Asbridge has posited that Gregory VII's pronouncement of his own leadership for the crusade could have been a factor in its poor recruitment.¹⁵⁷ This may be, but Gregory VII and Gregory X were very different popes. Gregory X elicited none of the divisiveness of his namesake. Indeed, it seems that James of Aragon was going on crusade *because* Gregory X was going as well, since he wrote in his autobiography: 'If as you have said you will go to Outremer, we will go there with you with 1,000 knights on the condition that you help us with the tithe from our land.'¹⁵⁸ Gregory X's own participation was probably meant to reassure participants of the seriousness of his intention to launch this crusade. His moral authority could have helped to reassure participants that this crusade would not end up straying from its intended goal: to rescue the Holy Land.

¹⁵⁴ *Reg. Greg. X*, n. 532 (RV37, f. 190v-191r).

¹⁵⁵ *RGX*, n. 809 (RV29A, f. 163r). *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 558.

¹⁵⁶ Gregory X, 'Decrees of the Second Council,' p. 17. Gregory X, '*Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*,' p. 197.

¹⁵⁷ Asbridge, *Crusades*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

Gregory's desire to go on crusade was also confirmed in several chronicles. Bartholomew of Lucca, Milioli, Martin of Opava, Sanuto, Salimbene, Pipinus, and Dandolo all said that Gregory wanted to go on crusade to the Holy Land again.¹⁵⁹ Bernard Gui also wrote that Gregory was intending to go on crusade personally, but even more, he wrote that Gregory was going to spend the rest of his life in the Holy Land.¹⁶⁰ Given no corroborating evidence, this seems hard to believe. Perhaps because Bernard was writing after the fact, with the knowledge that Gregory's life had ended too soon, he simply made a leap and assumed that had Gregory gone on crusade, his age and poor health would have made it his last act. It is inconceivable to think that Gregory would have abandoned his duties in the papal curia to remain permanently in the Holy Land.

Given the overall leadership that Gregory himself had assumed, his untimely death helped put an end to his crusade. After Gregory's death, it was the cardinals' letter to Rudolph that put it best:

They mourn and howl about the loss of the faithful father over all the tribes of the land, but especially those who, having taken up the victorious sign of the cross under the secure leadership of the same father, were eager to rise up powerfully against the blasphemous enemies of the Christian name.¹⁶¹

The past tense is interesting here. Without Gregory's 'secure leadership,' through which the crusade was being funded, major recruitment was being gained, and the necessary preparations were being made in the Holy Land, everything fell apart. The crusaders 'were' eager to rise up against the enemies of Christ, but without Gregory, the organisation just was not there. When Philip had tried to take on more of the organisation of the crusade, Gregory had turned him back. In retrospect, this was a mistake. Rudolph had only recently become

¹⁵⁹ Bartholomew of Lucca, *Historia Ecclesiastica Nova*, p. 584; Milioli, *Liber de Temporibus*, p. 542; Martin of Opava, *Chronicon Pontificum*, p. 442; Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 225; Salimbene, *Chronicle*, p. 498; Pipinus, *Chronicon Fratris*, p. 700; Dandolo, *Chronicon*, p. 388.

¹⁶⁰ Gui, *E Floribus Chronicorum*, p. 703.

¹⁶¹ CER, p. 102-4, n. 33. See Appendix A, 6:161.

king of the Romans, and was not yet emperor, so he had yet to take a firmer hold on the reins of the crusade.

Gregory's personal leadership was a strength in his crusade planning, since it is clear that it led James of Aragon to participate, and thus it seems possible that it was a factor in gaining the participation of others. Yet this was a double-edged sword, since this strength depended on Gregory's survival. Thus, it was ironically *too much* papal control and influence on the crusade during Gregory's papal tenure that helped bring his crusade to nothing. Since Gregory was doing practically everything himself, his death left a huge hole in the entire operation. If Gregory did indeed know as early as 1273 that his health was failing, and that he might not survive long, then it was perhaps unwise for him to commit personally to the crusade even tentatively. But he should not be criticised for this too harshly. He could not have known that after his death, the papacy would experience such serious instability through the rapid succession of three more popes in such a short time. This chain of events obviously was no help in launching the crusade, and the necessary leadership was not found in any secular figure, since without Gregory's firm hand on the rudder, the peaceful conditions for a crusade were lost, and the secular leaders had to turn to managing their own affairs in the West, which were again in disarray.

The Timing of Gregory's Crusade

Just *when* Gregory wanted to launch his crusade has been a topic of some debate among historians. Roberg has rightly noted that 'the beginning of the *passagium generale* was never formally announced.'¹⁶² Yet this need not prevent an investigation of clues to when the crusade would have been launched. Norman Housley wrote that 'it seems that the

¹⁶² Roberg, *Das Zweite*, p. 192.

pope allocated a six-year preparation period' set from the general council 'because the truce with the Mamluks would only expire in 1283, and partly because of the organizational problems which he foresaw.'¹⁶³ However, he also noted that 'it is possible that the pope was so encouraged by [strong recruitment] that he brought forward the departure date of the general passage to spring 1277.'¹⁶⁴ Palmer Throop believed that the departure date was April 1277, which he based on a false reading of the date of Rudolph's imperial coronation.¹⁶⁵ Sylvia Schein criticised Throop's dating as not being verified by the sources, and then strongly asserted without any sources herself that the crusade was planned for 1280, based, like Housley, on what she saw as a six-year preparation period.¹⁶⁶ She believed that Gregory wanted to keep the date secret to retain the element of surprise against the enemy, which may have some merit, since Gregory told Simon of Brie in September 1274: 'may you by no means allow the passage to the [Holy] Land to be established or the time of the passage to be fixed without our special mandate of the apostolic see, but may you desire to hinder this kind of set up and fixing with constant prohibition.'¹⁶⁷ This could indicate that Gregory wanted to keep the crusade as much of a surprise as possible; however, it is also clear in this letter that the most important element to the date of launching his crusade was that all of Christendom would be united. Crucially, Gregory wrote:

[The Holy Land] ought to be supported by the common cooperation of all the faithful of Christ. On account of that, we have provided for a useful entranceway to direct the consideration of great attention and to invite the devotion of full providence, so that the aid of everyone may be joined into one for the redemption of the [Holy] Land, and in that very place the strength of the whole army of Christ may assemble in the same time.

¹⁶³ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 13.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁵ Throop arrived at his date by mistakenly placing Rudolph's coronation in February 1277, rather than the correct 1276, which has been discussed above. Throop, *Criticism*, p. 272. Riley-Smith evidently accepted Throop's dating on both counts in his own work: Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, p. 213. Tyerman also adopted this date. Tyerman, *God's War*, p. 816.

¹⁶⁶ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁷ RGX, n. 538 (RV37, f. 191v). See Appendix A, 6:167.

And therefore, let the frail strength of Christianity not be divided, but how much more powerful it will be by a union, as it may receive happier auspices with God in the front.¹⁶⁸

One cannot help but believe that, in placing so much emphasis on papal control of the date, which would enforce the crusade to depart as a whole, Gregory was thinking of the problems that had arisen in past crusades. The Fifth Crusade had ultimately failed when Emperor Frederick II's forces did not arrive on time. Moreover, Lord Edward's crusade could have served as an even more recent example, since the paucity of his army – unaided by the arrival of other crusaders – meant that he could do very little in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, no parallels were actually drawn to past crusades that would explain this desire for tight unity and papal control.

Schein also asserted, like Housley, that a six-year preparation period was set by Gregory, and she noted that this followed a model set by Gregory's predecessors.¹⁶⁹ Her evidence is not clear, since not even Gregory's immediate predecessor, Clement IV, had done this, nor King Louis IX, who had seen Clement's crusade to its unhappy conclusion. If one looks back to Innocent III, whose Fourth Lateran Council crusade decrees had formed the basis for Gregory's own, one finds that 'Innocent had a fairly definite idea about the timetable to be followed in the period after the council. At his behest, King John of Jerusalem had arranged a truce with al-^cĀdil that was not due to expire until July 1217. He had, therefore, allowed a period of four years for the preparation of the crusade prior to its scheduled departure.'¹⁷⁰ Schein's theory, therefore, lacks foundation.

Housley and Schein's notion that Gregory set a six-year preparation period for his crusade needs to be revised. Just because Gregory decreed that church revenues would be taxed for six years to fund the crusade does not mean that the crusade would have to wait

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* See Appendix A, 6:168.

¹⁶⁹ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 44.

¹⁷⁰ Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 28.

until all revenue had been collected.¹⁷¹ As noted in chapter five, Alfonso had received a loan to carry out his crusade in Iberia, which would then have been paid back after the Lyons tax had been collected. As has been seen as well, Edward had taken out loans to pay for his earlier crusade, which were paid back afterwards in part through an ecclesiastical levy. There is no reason why Gregory's crusade would have had to wait the full six years before it was launched. Through the potential use of loans, along with whatever of the Lyons tax had already been collected, Gregory's crusade could have got underway. As discussed above, Gregory had already been able to give Rudolph 12,000 marks in 1275 for crusade preparation. Secondly, Housley's belief that the truce in the Holy Land (which would have expired on 3 or 4 March 1283) had an effect on Gregory's planning also needs to be revised. To be fair, Housley only indicated what 'seemed' to be the case, but his six-year preparation period still would not have put the timing of the crusade after the truce had expired, so it was not likely to have had a great influence. Moreover, as has been seen in chapter two, it is possible that western crusaders need not have concerned themselves with the truce at all. Edward had been against it from the beginning, and Charles' Marseillais sailors had seen fit to ignore it when they captured Baybars' ship.

There is reasonably strong evidence from a variety of sources that Gregory was aiming, if all went to plan, to launch his crusade in mid-1276. Leopold was the only historian to place Gregory's crusade in 1276, though he did not actually reveal how he came to this conclusion.¹⁷² At any rate, Gregory's death in January 1276 is made all the more untimely if his crusade would have launched in mid-1276. First of all, evidence of an early date comes from that fact that Gregory had rejected Ottokar of Bohemia's 1274 proposal to join the crusade if it were delayed by four years (thus placing it in 1278 if the delay were set from the

¹⁷¹ Gregory X, 'Decrees of the Second Council,' p. 17. Gregory X, '*Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*,' p. 197.

¹⁷² Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 177. Leopold cited Tyerman and Schein, but neither of them actually indicated a 1276 date where Leopold indicated, and clearly Schein did not support the 1276 date anyway.

time of the letter, which admittedly is not clear).¹⁷³ Clearly, if Ottokar had been suggesting that the crusade wait until 1278, Gregory was not prepared to do this. This offer may have led Jean Richard and Thomas Asbridge to place Gregory's crusade date in 1278.¹⁷⁴ Additional proof for a 1276 date comes from the general council. There, James of Aragon had recommended that the general passage be launched 'two years after the next feast of St John.'¹⁷⁵ In other words, it should be launched in June 1276. Giving some support to Schein's idea that Gregory wanted to launch a surprise attack, James said that 'you should hurry, because if the Moors know that you wished to send forces there, they would look to them, and the Christians would be unable to withstand them.'¹⁷⁶ The chronicle of St Peter of Erfurt and the *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis* both give some support to James of Aragon by noting that Gregory ordered at the general council that the cross be preached for two years.¹⁷⁷ The Erfurt chronicle even went a step further by writing that Gregory decreed that the crusade would launch in two years.¹⁷⁸ Thus, these chronicles point to June 1276 as well.

Throop was almost right about the date for Gregory's crusade, except that he had misread the sources about Rudolph's coronation. Rudolph was to come to Rome in February 1276 for his coronation, not 1277. This is confirmed directly in the annals of St Rupert of Salzburg.¹⁷⁹ It can also be understood from the *Annales Basileenses*. As noted earlier, it seems that these annals mistakenly switched the date of Rudolph's coronation with the date of the launching of the crusade.¹⁸⁰ There is a *lacuna* in this text in the worst possible place.

¹⁷³ Bruno of Olomouc, 'Relatio de Negotio Imperii,' p. 594. RGX, n. 716 (RV29A, f. 50r-50v). Also in *Regesta Diplomatica*, p. 400.

¹⁷⁴ Richard, *Crusades*, p. 437. Asbridge, *Crusades*, p. 649. They might also have been relying on Pope Innocent V's letter to Simon of Brie, discussed below. RGX, n. 841 (RV29A, f. 171v-172r).

¹⁷⁵ James of Aragon, *Book*, p. 363.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*, MGH, *Scriptorum*, vol. 30 (Hannover, 1896), p. 627; *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis Moderna*, p. 407.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses*, p. 801.

¹⁸⁰ The annals first noted: 'the pope was advising the king, so that he might come to Rome at the feast of the pentecost [24 May 1276] with 2,000 knights, so that he might solemnly crown him as Roman emperor.' 'Papa regi consulerat, ut Romam ad festum penthecostes cum duobus milibus militum veniret, ut eum in imperatorem

To be clear, a reading of the original manuscript makes it clear that this was a genuine blank gap in the text, and not simply an illegible word.¹⁸¹ The gap appears after the ‘two’ units of time that would pass before the launching of the crusade. This *lacuna* was interpreted by the text’s editor in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* as ‘*annos*,’ but it seems more likely to be ‘*menses*.’¹⁸² The argument for this *lacuna* being *menses* instead of *annos* is supported by the timing of the crusade given by James, and the Erfurt and *Reinhardsbrunnensis* chronicles. However, it is supported perhaps even better by George Metochites.

After Michael Palaeologus made his second offer to aid the crusade in 1275 through his messenger George Metochites, Gregory had told George to wait for him in Rome, where they would meet later to discuss things further. Of course he died along the way, but some further plans had already been made. George noted that Gregory and Michael were supposed to meet in Easter 1276 in Brindisi or (if the situation were not secure for Michael to come there) they would meet across the short stretch of the Adriatic Sea in Vlorë.¹⁸³ Thus, this Easter meeting would roughly coincide with the two *menses* after Rudolph’s coronation. There Gregory and Michael would have discussed the crusade.¹⁸⁴ Given that Gregory had asked Rudolph to bring 2,000 knights with him to his coronation, it seems possible that Gregory’s discussion with Michael at Easter 1276 was meant to be followed up in the next couple of months by the launching of his crusade. Indeed, George himself said, after noting the timing of his embassy as autumn 1275, that ‘in order to begin the operations with the aid of God, we would await the end of the year there, and the following spring.’¹⁸⁵ There is a

Romanorum solenniter coronaret. It then followed this by noting: ‘with them having been signed by the cross, the pope declared that after two [*lacuna*] from the feast of the purification [2 February 1276], they would cross over the sea together.’ ‘*Cruce signatis papa dixit ut post duos [lacuna] a festo purificationis pariter transfretarent.*’ *Annales Basileenses*, p. 198.

¹⁸¹ [*Annales Basileenses*], MS, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, cod. Hist. 4°. 145, f. 16r.

¹⁸² ‘*Annos*’ was also accepted by the German translator of this source, yet he was using the version from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* for his translation, so cannot be used as source for independent verification. *Annalen und Chronik von Kolmar*, ed. H. Pabst (Berlin, 1867), p. 19.

¹⁸³ Giannelli, ‘*Récit*,’ p. 439.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

chance that this meant 1277, after the end of the year that Gregory and Michael met in person, but with the sum of the rest of the evidence, it is more likely to be June 1276.

There are some detracting elements to the idea that the crusade would launch in June 1276 that need to be mentioned. Edward, for one, seemed wholly unaware of when the crusade would be launched. He told the Ilkhan Abagha in January 1275 that he did not know when the Christian army would arrive, because the pope had not yet set the time.¹⁸⁶ Yet Edward had not attended the general council, and Gregory's letter to Simon of Brie had indicated that the timing of the crusade was being kept quiet. Edward had also not yet taken up the cross, so he certainly would not know when he himself would be arriving. But after Gregory's death, there is also potentially some indication that the crusade timing had not been set. Pope Innocent V wrote letters to both Edward and Simon of Brie about it. In a letter that Guiraud wrongly attributed to Gregory X, Innocent V wrote to Simon of Brie in March 1276 that Philip's messengers had told him that the king had set June 1278 (also using the date of the feast of St John) as the limit for going on crusade, which Innocent had accepted.¹⁸⁷ This was only a 'limit' though, and does not necessarily indicate that the crusade could not happen before this. In addition, its use of the feast of St John as the basis is reminiscent of Gregory's own plans, and thus any prolongation that Philip made might have been based on a dating of the crusade at the feast of St John in 1276. In the other case that may detract from a 1276 date, Innocent wrote to Edward to ask advice on when the crusade should be launched.¹⁸⁸ However, Innocent's letters need not be taken as an indication that Gregory had not already fixed the date. Gregory's death had thrown his plans into the air, so it is not surprising that a new date would have to be set. More importantly, the most troubling evidence against the setting of June 1276 as the date for Gregory's crusade is the very *lack* of sources that indicate that he had made the necessary preparations. There is no evidence that

¹⁸⁶ *Foedera*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 520.

¹⁸⁷ *RGX*, n. 841 (*RV29A*, f. 171v-172r).

¹⁸⁸ *RV29A*, f. 172v-173r.

Gregory had been commissioning ships or supplies to send the crusaders to the Holy Land. This is not an insurmountable problem. Indeed, a discussion of the destination of Gregory's crusade, to which this chapter now turns, will clear up this issue. Ultimately, the balance of the evidence still indicates that Gregory hoped to launch his crusade around June 1276, and thus the pace of sending his crusade, after holding the general council in 1274, was faster than the four-year delay under Pope Innocent III, and much faster than the six-year delay posited by Housley and Schein. It seems, then, that Gregory's desire for swift action – discussed extensively in chapter three for the interim crusade – was also meant to be put into practice for the general passage.

The Destination of Gregory's Crusade

Jean Dunbabin seems to have taken the destination of Gregory's crusade for granted. She noted that Charles of Anjou had taken up the cross for Gregory's crusade to Egypt.¹⁸⁹ One can hardly blame her for this assumption, since Egypt had been the intended destination for all three of the previous large crusades in the thirteenth century. It seems that it was also what Baybars feared at least earlier on in Gregory's reign, since Ibn al-Furāt reported that in 1272 or 1273 'news kept coming in that the Franks were intending to attack the frontiers of Egypt.'¹⁹⁰ Schein, however, has rightly pointed out that 'conspicuously absent from crusade-planning after 1270 was also the thesis of the conquest or utter weakening of Egypt as the key to the reconquest of the Holy Land.'¹⁹¹ She thought that 'this was, possibly, the reaction to the disastrous crusade of St Louis to Tunis, the last made in the thirteenth century to conquer Egypt.'¹⁹² In his study of recovery proposals written after Gregory's death, Leopold noted

¹⁸⁹ Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 94.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids*, vol. 2, p. 159.

¹⁹¹ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 50.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

that ‘only three writers, Henry II, Marino Sanuto, and Roger of Stanegrave suggested that the general passage should be directed to Egypt rather than the Holy Land.’¹⁹³ This trend was not surprising when the crusade plans in Gregory X’s time are revealed. Gregory’s plans, in fact, act as a precedent for turning the crusade away from Egypt, and towards northern Syria and Palestine.

Gregory never mentioned that he was taking his crusade to Egypt. Indeed, other than the occasional reference to Baybars as the sultan of Egypt, or as the Egyptian enemy, there is no reference to Egypt at all in the sources that discuss Gregory’s crusade. That said, the fact that all of the sources noted that the crusade was to rescue ‘the Holy Land’ cannot, in itself, be taken as an indication that the crusade was destined there, since even the crusades to Egypt had been meant to rescue the Holy Land. On this point, Caroline Smith has noted:

Despite the fact that Louis IX’s first crusade was initially directed to Egypt, Matthew Paris emphasized the ultimate rather than immediate goal of this project when he wrote of the king’s departure from France in 1248 and that of William Longsword from England in the summer of 1249 as the beginning of their journeys to Jerusalem. Similarly, Primat’s chronicle described Louis’ departure on his second crusade as the start of the “holy voyage of Jerusalem.”¹⁹⁴

Based on this, one cannot determine the destination of Gregory X’s crusade with absolute certainty by looking at the language used in his letters. Nevertheless, it will be argued that Egypt was not the destination of Gregory’s crusade based on additional evidence: the practical limitations that using the land route would place on travel to Egypt, and the prevalence of conflict in northern Syria (and recognition of it) in the years leading up to Gregory’s planned crusade. In addition, since the Mongols and Byzantines were to play a part in this crusade, then the preliminary destination of their lands in northern Syria, with an ultimate destination of Palestine, makes more sense logistically. One cannot help but notice

¹⁹³ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 158.

¹⁹⁴ Smith, *Crusading*, p. 110.

the parallels to the route taken by the first and second crusaders and Frederick Barbarossa. Nevertheless, there is no reference in extant evidence that shows comparisons made in Gregory's time to the route of these previous crusades. It does not seem, at least on the evidence, that Gregory was purposefully considering using a 'traditional' method.

The most lively discussion in the historiography about the destination of Gregory's crusade centres on Michael Palaeologus' astonishing offer for the crusade army to take the land route through Byzantine territory. Kenneth Setton basically dismissed the whole notion: 'It is not easy to take all this seriously (Pachymeres and Gregoras know nothing of it), and unless Metochites was grossly misrepresenting the facts, one wonders what the Emperor Michael's purpose was.'¹⁹⁵ Schein, too, has not thought that this plan would come to fruition. She wrote that 'it is doubtful if Gregory X planned to choose the land route for his crusade,' and she justifiably pointed out that 'his efforts to secure for his project the navies of Europe rather point out that he had the sea route on his mind. Sicily, Genoa, Marseilles, Pisa, Venice, and Aragon were all requested more than once to furnish galleys for the coming expedition.'¹⁹⁶ Housley avoided the problem altogether by not discussing the destination. Yet, Setton and Schein have been too quick to dismiss Michael's proposal.

The notion that Gregory would have considered, and in fact intended to take the land passage is seen more favourably by historians of Byzantium. Geanakoplos took Michael's offer at face value, and even interpreted George Metochites' report as demonstrating that 'Pope Gregory was favourable to the plan.'¹⁹⁷ Vitalien Laurent, too, has noted that 'it was undoubtedly the safest solution, and Gregory himself seems to have agreed.'¹⁹⁸ Interestingly, Laurent has posited that there would have been two convergent crusades with two

¹⁹⁵ Setton, *Papacy*, p. 122.

¹⁹⁶ Schein, *Fideles*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁷ Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 288.

¹⁹⁸ Laurent, 'La croisade,' p. 133.

destinations: Egypt and Syria-Palestine.¹⁹⁹ He said that the first necessarily meant that ships would be needed for a voyage by the sea, but the second (which he believed could not have been conducted by Michael alone) could have used the land route, although a supply chain would have been needed by land or sea.²⁰⁰ This idea of two convergent crusades was not entirely new. When Michael had offered his aid to Pope Clement IV before, Clement had responded to him: ‘the illustrious king of France, ... has assumed the cross ... and if he wars on the Agarenes from one side and you from the other, the enemies of the cross and the faith may expect the ruin of their destructive sect.’²⁰¹ Of course, nothing had ever come of this before, because negotiations between Michael and Clement never reached the level that they later did under Gregory’s pontificate. If Gregory’s aforementioned desire for the timing of the general passage to be set so that all the crusaders would be united also meant that he wanted the army itself to be united (which, admittedly, cannot be known for sure), then this pincer movement could not have been part of the plan. Yet, it cannot be dismissed out of hand, since it seems obvious that James of Aragon, at the very least, would not have been taking the land route. He had promised ten ships, and the distance by land would have been especially long for him from Aragon. On balance, however, the evidence that is available points not towards Egypt as the preliminary destination, as will become clear.

It seems that whether the crusade had gone by land or by sea, it would not have been to Egypt. Even George Metochites noted when he suggested the land route that the destination of the crusade was ‘Palestine.’²⁰² It is evident that Gregory had perhaps at first been planning a general passage only by sea; thus, Schein was right to point out Gregory’s work to secure ships for his crusaders for a sea passage. At the general council, Gregory had forbidden Christians ‘to send or sail their ships for six years in the lands of the Saracens who

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ As translated by, and quoted in Geanakoplos, *Emperor*, p. 204.

²⁰² Giannelli, ‘Récit,’ p. 436.

live in the eastern regions. *By this means a greater supply of shipping will be made ready for those wishing to cross over in aid of the Holy Land* [my italics].²⁰³ Gregory had tried to secure three ships each from the naval powers early in his reign.²⁰⁴ However, with the exception of Charles of Anjou's provision of ships to transport Patriarch Thomas, and James of Aragon's promise of ten ships for the general passage, there is no evidence to confirm that the Genoese, Venetians, Pisans, and Marseillais ever agreed to provide Gregory with the ships he wanted. Moreover, there is no evidence leading up to the time of Gregory's death that he was making further provision for ships for what would have been the imminent general passage. Of course, it did not have to be Gregory that arranged the transportation for crusaders. As has been seen in chapter three, Charles, for example, helped Philip arrange ships for Oliver of Termes' passage to the Holy Land. In addition, there was six months from the time of Gregory's death until the time that his crusade would have launched. This would have given him some time for working out further logistics. Nevertheless, stronger evidence points to Gregory's decision to use the land passage for his crusade, which would have alleviated any potential problems of securing shipping.

The course of events in northern Syria (whose attack by Baybars was well-known in the West, as discussed in chapter two), and the offer by Michael seems to have led Gregory to take up the land route. It is interesting to note that on top of the problems that occurred in northern Syria in 1275, William of Tripoli's advice treatise (which he wrote in 1273 and presented to the general council) had argued that Muslim astrologers predicted Baybars' death in 1273 and the subsequent rise of a new Turkish sultan. At this time, Christ would rise again and raise his banner 'through all Syria and up to Caesarea Cappadocia.'²⁰⁵ It is noteworthy that William had not mentioned Jerusalem specifically, although if one takes a

²⁰³ Gregory X, 'Decrees of the Second Council,' p. 19. Gregory X, '*Constitutiones pro Zelo Fidei*,' p. 198. See Appendix A, 6:203.

²⁰⁴ *RGX*, n. 356-9 (*RV37*, f. 119r-119v).

²⁰⁵ '*Per totam Siriam usque ad Cesaream Cappadocie*.' William of Tripoli, *De Statu*, p. 589.

wide view of ‘Syria’ then perhaps this would have included Jerusalem. At any rate, the presence of Caesarea is more noteworthy. George Metochites wrote in his memoir that when Gregory had asked about Turkey, he had replied to the pope, bringing particular notice to the episcopal sees of Caesarea and Iconium.²⁰⁶ These cities were currently held by the Seljuk Turks, who in turn were subject to the Ilkhanate Mongols. The *Eracles*, though admittedly not an advice treaty for Gregory, also drew attention to Caesarea and conflict in the general area of northern Syria during the time that Gregory was on crusade with Edward, when it seems that the Mongols were actually having some success:

My Lord Tedaldo, valiant cleric born in Piacenza, was elected as pope of Rome. The messengers that my Lord Edward and the Christians had sent to the Tartars to acquire aid returned to Acre. They understood very well the need that brought the Tartars and that coursed through all the land of Antioch and Aleppo, Hama and Homs, up to Greater Caesarea. And [the Tartars] killed the Saracens that they found, and from there, they turned themselves to the marsh-grounds which are at the entrance to Turkey for great gains of slaves and beasts. And there they pastured and rested after the great work that they had endured on the great road that they had taken, and for the grass, and for the great plenty of water that they found in the land for the great beasts that they carried.²⁰⁷

Perhaps this bit of success that the Mongols had, while Gregory was still in the Holy Land, contributed to the pope directing his crusade there.

The prevalence of conflict in northern Syria was also reinforced by Patriarch Thomas in 1275. Taking the land route would have led the crusaders through the area of eastern Christendom that had been suffering the most recently: Armenia and Antioch. Patriarch Thomas had written to Rudolph in 1275 about how Baybars:

Wretchedly rages without control for the space of 20 days around the massacre of the living, the arson of villages and cities, and the final laying to waste of everything of the

²⁰⁶ Giannelli, ‘Récit,’ p. 437.

²⁰⁷ *Eracles*, p. 461. See Appendix A, 6:207.

kingdom of Armenia, which he has been able to achieve impetuously. In that very place, unmercifully, he has satiated the madness by a formerly devised fury, and with the kingdom having been scattered in this way, and totally desolated, he has arrived in the region of Antioch, and there (as is told), he lingers with his whole powerful army.²⁰⁸

Also in this year, the master of the Hospital, Hugh Revel, had written Edward: ‘When the sultan issued forth from Babylon and did what he came to do in Armenia, he turned back into Babylon for pasture and to refresh his men, because the sultan had made a very great war in Armenia.’²⁰⁹ When Michael had suggested through his messenger that the crusaders take up the land route to Palestine, he could not but have hoped to secure western military aid in Asia Minor along the way. Of course this would have been a boon for the Byzantines, but it would also have helped the Armenians, who were even more closely allied with the Latin Christians. Furthermore, it would have placed the crusader army in the area controlled by the Ilkhanate Mongols, who had attempted to work with Lord Edward on his crusade, and who continued to look for an alliance with the Christians.

Jean Richard wrote that in Gregory’s time ‘the success of an enterprise to recover the Holy Land was now assumed to depend on the Mongol alliance.’²¹⁰ A Mongol alliance would seem to have been a necessity. How could the Christians expect to attack the Mamluks, and possibly succeed, without having dealt with the powerful Mongol presence in the region? After all, the Mongols of the Ilkhanate were enemies of the Mamluks as well, and they were interested in territorial expansion like any other group. Surely the Christians could not expect to succeed against the Mamluks, and then simply live peacefully without considering what the Mongols would do afterwards. The Mongols would have to be a part of the crusade, even if it were only by agreeing to neutrality or right of passage, but in point of fact, the Mongols of the Ilkhanate themselves had been proposing alliance. The Ilkhan Abagha has sent

²⁰⁸ *CER*, p. 66-7, n. 5. See Appendix A, 6:208.

²⁰⁹ Kohler & Langlois, ‘Lettres inédites,’ p. 54. *CG*, vol. 3, p. 330-1, n. 3584. See Appendix A, 6:209.

²¹⁰ Richard, *Crusades*, p. 441.

messengers to the general council in 1274, and they had also visited Edward in England (or at least sent letters).²¹¹ This is what had led Edward to send his aforementioned letter back to Abagha in 1275. Unfortunately, the purpose of the Mongol embassy is not clearly documented, but given their interest in the upcoming crusade, the embassy was in all likelihood looking for an alliance of some sort. Gregory replied to Abagha:

Concerning these things which Your Munificence told through the messengers and aforesaid letters, before the arrival of the Christian army overseas, we are arranging to send our legates to your presence, as opportunity allows, and they may answer about those things fully to Your Magnitude.²¹²

The Mongols were based in northern Syria, and when Michael Palaeologus had offered the land route to Gregory, he had assured the pope that he would secure help from his son-in-law, the Ilkhan Abagha.²¹³ Laurent seems to have interpreted this as an emergency arrangement for a landing in Armenia or Antioch by accompanying vessels, since there is no other explanation for his belief that there was an emergency landing place at all.²¹⁴ Instead, it seems that this was an excellent example of the cooperation between the Mongols, Byzantines, and Latin Christians for a land passage, and the crusade in general.

Even more convincingly, the advice treatise of Fidenzio of Padua suggested that northern Syria was a more preferable destination for the general passage than Egypt, since Egypt had become too strong. The former staging ground of Damietta was destroyed by the time of Gregory's pontificate, and the other option for landing in Egypt, Alexandria, was even better fortified than before.²¹⁵ Though Fidenzio's treatise was written long after Gregory's death, Fidenzio noted in his preface that 'Pope Gregory [...] ordered me in the council of Lyons to put in writing how the Holy Land could be acquired from the hands of

²¹¹ According to Bartholomew of Lucca, these messengers were baptised at the general council: *Historia Ecclesiastica Nova*, p. 584.

²¹² *RGX*, n. 577 (*RV37*, f. 209v). See Appendix A, 6:212.

²¹³ Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 436.

²¹⁴ Laurent, 'La croisade,' p. 133-4.

²¹⁵ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 162.

the infidels, and how it could be conserved by the Christian faithful.²¹⁶ It seems very plausible that some of the advice that Fidenzio later wrote down would already have been presented to Gregory in person at the council, or was actually that which was being discussed at the council generally. Leopold has summarised Fidenzio's advice well: 'Egypt was far from any potential sources of help for crusaders since both the Mongols and Armenians were very distant. Hence it made greater sense to attack in northern Syria where the situation was reversed.'²¹⁷ Furthermore, Fidenzio also echoed what seems to have been part of Gregory's strategy when he noted that 'there ought to be two armies of Christians, namely one which fights by sea, and the other which fights by land.'²¹⁸ This fits well with Gregory's keen interest in maintaining naval supremacy, and his request for naval aid from James of Aragon and the other naval powers.

When George Metochites had explained to Gregory about Turkey, Gregory was said to have responded:

And how could we bear to see in the hands of the impious such a Christian heritage that illustrious fathers and pastors have filled with divinely inspired brilliance? Is it not with all our strength that we must try to render this country as soon as possible to the power of earlier times and re-establish the old Christian situation (whether before the deliverance of the Holy Land or after), if God deigns to lead our company to a successful outcome?²¹⁹

Gregory's notion that this could be done *after* the Holy Land was delivered would have been difficult. He could not have hoped to take the land route through Turkey and northern Syria easily, and then only come back to liberate it afterwards. Pointing to the problems with this, Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent has noted that 'Gregory X – presumably because he ignored the

²¹⁶ Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber Recuperationis Terrae Sanctae*, ed. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Franceseano*, vol. 2 (Quaracchi, 1913), p. 9. See Appendix A, 6:216.

²¹⁷ Leopold, *How to Recover*, p. 162.

²¹⁸ Fidenzio of Padua, *Liber*, p. 53. See Appendix A, 6:218.

²¹⁹ Giannelli, 'Récit,' p. 437.

difficulties of it – had agreed to take on the plan [of Michael] for the future crusade.²²⁰ With the cooperation of the Byzantines and the Mongols, however, facilitating the land route would have been easier. Nevertheless, the utilisation of the land route provides, in itself, further evidence that Egypt was not the destination of this crusade, unless there were to be a separate sea passage to Egypt (for which there is no actual evidence). If the crusaders were to take the land passage, the obstacles along the way in northern Syria and Palestine would have meant that the army would have been exhausted by the time it reached Egypt. It simply would not have been possible.

Finally, Gatto has written fairly enough that ‘it is difficult to determine what was the exact thought of Gregory.’²²¹ With quite incredible inaccuracy though, he also noted that ‘the eastern empire was still considered the natural way that the crusaders had to travel.’²²² There is no evidence of this, and the sea-faring way the crusades had run in the thirteenth century completely discounts his assertion. From a thirteenth-century perspective, Gregory’s decision to use the land route was in fact very innovative. Gatto did believe that Gregory intended to take the land route, and that ‘in this respect, this agreement constitutes a true change of the initial Gregorian program essentially aimed to conquer the heart of the Christian East: Palestine.’²²³ This was not the case. As is clear from George Metochites’ report, Gregory did not see the land route as a diversion from Palestine at all, since that was to be his ultimate destination. In fact, he believed (wrong though he likely was) that a conquest of Palestine could have come before the conquest of northern Syria.

Ultimately, it seems that by the end of his reign Gregory had incorporated the land route into his crusade plans. Gregory was thus planning for Rudolph, newly crowned

²²⁰ Marie-Hyacinthe Laurent, ‘Georges le Métochite, Ambassadeur de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du B. Innocent V,’ *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, vol. III: Letteratura e Storia Bizantina*, [Studi e Testi, 123] (Vatican, 1946), p. 142.

²²¹ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 100.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

emperor, to cross overland with Michael in June 1276. Laurent was right to point out that this need not have removed maritime action as well, and it is almost a certainty that the sea route would have been used by James of Aragon and his fleet. It is also possible, though supposition, that Philip of France would also have taken the sea route. As for the ultimate destination: it was Palestine. Though the land route would have necessitated conflict in Turkey and northern Syria, Gregory was making his way to Palestine. Egypt was no longer the preliminary goal of the crusade. Gregory was never able to reach Jerusalem on his first crusade, and before he left Acre to take up the papacy, he had promised not to forget Jerusalem.²²⁴ Given the failure of three major crusades to keep or hold Egypt, and that the kingdom of Jerusalem itself was barely hanging on by a thread, it seems that the target of Gregory's crusade would have been Jerusalem itself, reached, like during the First Crusade, by the land route through Turkey and northern Syria.

²²⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 239. Sanuto, *Liber*, p. 225.

CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that, while crusade planning did undergo important changes during the papal reign of Gregory X, historians should not place so much emphasis on the general council of 1274. Instead, Gregory's reign should be looked at as a whole to show the changing nature of crusade planning, since a crucial element in that change – the *passagium particulare* – was taken up by Gregory himself from the very beginning of his tenure. Certainly, the general council demonstrated that this approach was endorsed by the Templars, Erard of Valery, and James of Aragon, but the strong element of papal control to crusade planning during Gregory's time means that the endorsement of this idea by the pope himself, which *he* put into practice in 1272 with the aid of the king of France, should carry more weight. At the same time, this thesis has shown that the *passagium generale*, though it never came to happen, was still widely endorsed in Gregory's time, and thus this era, as Housley first alluded, was one in which the crusade was seen to require two stages – an era of a dual crusading policy.

As has been made clear, when Gregory took the papal throne, he began a concerted effort to rescue the Holy Land, focusing on this task as no pope had since Innocent III. To achieve his goals, Gregory undertook a systematic investigation into the needs of the Holy Land, which was aided by the fact that Gregory himself had been in Acre when he was elected as pope. Such an investigation revealed that the Latin East was hanging on by the slimmest of threads. The peace treaty between King Hugh and Sultan Baybars gave some respite, but there was no way of ensuring that it would be adhered to. It was clear that there was not a moment to lose; thus, the fragile condition in the Holy Land necessitated the adoption of the dual crusading policy, and Gregory recognised this from the beginning. This

meant that interim troops had to be sent to the Holy Land while the general passage was being prepared, since Baybars' impressive conquests had demonstrated clearly that the inhabitants of the Latin East were in no position to look after themselves, nor hold out until the general passage. At the same time, interim troops, on their own, would be unable to do any more than hold onto the remaining Latin possessions on the littoral. A general passage was the only way that the Latin East could regain its former size.

To realise his goal of restoring Latin power in the Holy Land, Gregory had to ensure the right conditions for a crusade. This meant that conflict over the kingship of the Romans had to be settled, so that there would be no internal issues preventing the western kings from going to the Holy Land. Accordingly, Gregory worked to turn Alfonso X of Castile from his struggle to assert his claim to the title. A key component to Gregory's success on this issue was the invasion of Iberia by the Marinids of Morocco, allied to the kingdom of Granada. Had it not been for this, it is unclear if even Gregory – able diplomat though he was – could have turned Alfonso away from an invasion of Italy, or at the least, further disruption of the peace. It has been shown that the invasion of Iberia, instead of having wholly negative consequences for the crusade to the Holy Land, actually aided it. The invasion helped to bring Alfonso to give up his rights in favour of Rudolph of Habsburg, and to go back to Iberia. Given that Gregory completely rejected a crusade against Byzantium, the crusade in Iberia is the only example during Gregory's reign which demonstrates how the pope envisioned the crusade outside of the Holy Land. Far from the depiction of Gregory as someone narrowly focused on the Holy Land itself, the Iberian crusade demonstrated that Gregory's vision of the crusade was a flexible one, where he not only reacted to the circumstances in which he found himself, but actually took proactive steps to include Iberia in his crusade plans. This was because, for Gregory, the crusade in Iberia was as meritorious as the crusade to the Holy Land, since success in Iberia helped the defense of the Holy Land.

In addition, part of setting the right conditions for the crusade to launch meant that Gregory did not endorse Charles of Anjou's plan to buy Maria of Antioch's claim to the throne of Jerusalem. Certainly, Gregory did not depend upon the local secular government in the Holy Land for his crusading preparations – instead relying on the military orders, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and western captains – yet he did not want to unseat King Hugh from the throne of Jerusalem. There would simply have been too much risk for disrupting the peace in Christendom for this to have been a viable option, thus this thesis has demonstrated that the popular theory of Gregory's involvement in the scheme must be rejected. It was only after Gregory had died that Charles made the deal for a claim to the throne. Under Gregory's leadership, it seems that the peaceful conditions necessary for launching the crusade could have been maintained on this front. As a friend of the French royal family, but without being part of the Angevin faction, Gregory was actually the ablest pope at keeping Charles' ambitions in check. Not only was Gregory's rejection of Charles' claim to the throne of Jerusalem an example of this, but a still greater one was that Charles did nothing during Gregory's papal tenure to disrupt the union of the Roman and Greek churches. Indeed, Emperor Michael Palaeologus was even going to take part in Gregory's crusade. Given that reconquering Constantinople and asserting his presence in Byzantine territory was one of Charles' dearest ambitions, this shows the impressive level of respect and authority that Pope Gregory X elicited.

Through papal stewardship, the conditions for a crusade were still right at the time that Gregory died. This thesis has demonstrated that what Gregory planned to do with this crusade was a radical departure from thirteenth-century crusading history. Instead of throwing the forces of Christendom once more upon the shores of Egypt, which had proven unsuccessful twice before, under Gregory's leadership, the crusade was going to turn back to the land route through Turkey, and into northern Syria, with an ultimate goal of Palestine.

Gregory's crusade would have had the landmark aid of the Greeks and the Ilkhanate Mongols, so this route would have made the most sense, since they were both based in these areas. Moreover, news from the Holy Land highlighted the fact that the former territory of Antioch, as well as that of Armenia, was under heavy attack by Baybars during this time, while, for the moment, the truces with the remaining Latin territories seemed to be holding. The interim troops were stationed there to guarantee this remained the case. Of course, it will never be known how successful such a change in direction would have been, but it set the precedent for later advice treatises in the fourteenth century that recommended the same change. The possibilities for success of this new strategy – given the massive scale of this crusade, with Mongol and Greek aid – were arguably very strong. Tantalizingly, had this crusade launched, it would have been the first time that Muslim forces under Mamluk leadership met the forces of a general passage. Perhaps it would have been the supreme test for Sultan Baybars' reputation as a leader and a general. But it was not to be.

On the night in May 1277 when Pope John XXI's new chamber came crashing down on top of him, killing him within a few days, the *Eracles* noted that a sword brother dreamed of Pope Gregory X carrying a pickaxe in his hand, followed by a large crowd of people. The brother asked him what he was doing, and Gregory replied that he was going to fell a bad stone which was at the foundation of the Holy Church.¹ John XXI's name before becoming pope was Peter Julian, or Peter of Spain, thus there was a play on words for the 'bad stone.' John XXI's short papal tenure, like that of Hadrian V and Innocent V before him in 1276, had not given him the time needed to see Gregory's crusade through, even though all three of these popes had been making efforts. None of them had the stability of a long reign, like Gregory had, which would have helped them to establish the necessary conditions for a crusade, since war had broken out after Gregory's death. This dubious story from the *Eracles*

¹ 'Je sui pape Gregoire, qui vais abatre une mauvaise pierre, qui est au fondement de Sainte Yglise, qui moult de maus porroit faire, se ele y demoroit plus.' *Eracles*, p. 481.

is thus not very fair, but it does give an indication of a perception that Gregory's crusade plan was not being carried out. After John XXI died, a six-month papal vacancy led to the election of Nicholas III, who had almost a three-year papal tenure, but this pope was most closely interested in Italian politics, and did not have good relations with Charles of Anjou. Throop has argued that Rudolph would not agree to go on crusade under Nicholas III's reign until he received his long-promised imperial coronation, which had eluded him after Gregory's death, but there is no solid evidence to back up this direct connection.² All that can be said for sure is that Rudolph, Charles, and Nicholas became absorbed in Italian politics. After Nicholas' death and yet another six month vacancy, Charles of Anjou's favoured candidate, Simon of Brie, became pope as Martin IV. He had the stability of a four-year papal tenure, and had been a key figure in Gregory X's crusade organisation as papal legate. But the crusade was well and truly put to rest under his reign when he remade the schism with the Greeks by excommunicating Michael Palaeologus, and when he called a crusade against the Christian kingdom of Aragon. The opportunity for a crusade had been ripest in the year and a half after Gregory's death, especially considering (with retrospect) that Sultan Baybars himself died in 1277. However, the unforeseen circumstances of the death of the three crusade-minded popes after Gregory, coupled with the fact that Gregory had made this crusade dependent upon the papacy, meant that the opportunity was lost. Even though the western princes were still interested in crusading, the right conditions that Gregory had been able to create for the crusade were simply no longer there.

² Throop cited Hirsch-Gereuth as proof, but the original register letters from Nicholas III, which Hirsch-Gereuth cited, are anything but conclusive. The letters made no mention of the imperial crown at all, and only noted, for example, that Nicholas wished for Rudolph's 'happy status to be exalted.' '*Status felicis exaltetur.*' See Throop, *Criticism*, p. 278; A.V. Hirsch-Gereuth, *Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzugs-idee* (Munich, 1896), p. 119-20; *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)*, ed. Jules Gay (Paris, 1898), n. 770 (cited), and n. 765-71.

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Abbreviations

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 RHC: *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*
 RIS: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*
 RHGF: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*
 RA: *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina*
 RGX: *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272-1276)*
 RV29A: *Registra Vaticana 29A*
 RV37: *Registra Vaticana 37*
 CER: *Codex Epistolaris Rudolphi I. Romanorum Regis*
 CG: *Cartulaire general de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*

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APPENDIX A

Large Quotations: Original Text

(Chapter number : footnote number)

1:7

‘Hic papa fuit mire experientie in secularibus, quamvis modice litterature, nec intendebat pecuniarum lucris sed pauperum elemosinis.’

1:13

‘Quo interim tempore Viterbium ad Romanam Curiam venerant Philippus Francorum, & Carolus Neapolis Reges, qui Collegium pro celeri, & matura Pontificis creatione rogantes, parum profecerunt, & rebus infectis discessere.’

1:19

‘Absens Thedaldus suadente, ut narrat aliqui, S.Bonav.ordinis S. Francisci Generali Antistite, renunciatus est Romanus Pontifex, incertum tamen, coram ne, an absens D.Bonavent.Cardinalibus auctor fuerit, ut Thedaldum post tam diuturna ferè triennij Comitia Pontificem renunciarent.’

1:22

‘De quo obstupuerunt quam plures, quod hominem peregrinum, hominem quibusdam ex ipsis cardinalibus prorsus ignotum; & de cuius morte, vel vita veritas erat incerta, taliter elegissent, non attendentes, quod spiritus, ubi vult, spirat, & nescitur, unde veniat, aut quo vadat.’

1:28

‘Divae Fidei breve hoc Sacellum per magnificos Vicecomites ex Placentia a fundamentis dicatum et dotatum.’

1:46

‘O bene Iesu, gratias tibi ago, quia misisti ad me virum secundum cor meum, per cuius prouidentia, qualiter cum Papa, & Cardinalibus ad celebrandum Concilium hic venturis, me gerere debeam, potero informari.’

1:48

‘Per cuius directionis consilium tota Curia tam in capite, quam in membris statum pacificum, & quietum obtinuit.’

1:52

‘Ne homo meritis tot insignis, gratus Deo, & acceptus hominibus, Ecclesiasticae careret titulo dignitatis, Archidiaconatum tunc in Ecclesia Leodiensi vacantem sibi liberaliter contulit, ipsumque de eo investire curavit.’

1:67

‘Illo quoque tempore Lodoycus Rex Francorum, Princeps Christianissimus, virtutum vas, Fidei speculum, & elegans totius bonae operationis exemplar, ipsum Archidiaconum adeo diligebat, ac venerabatur eundem, ut mirarentur quamplures, quod tam Excellentissimus Rex uni Clerico, in magna non posito dignitate, tantum honorem impenderet, tantamque reuerentiam exhiberet.’

1:70

‘De archidyaconis autem dicimus quod nec in choro nec in capitulo locum teneant debitum dignitati donec in dyaconos fuerint ordinati.’

1:71

‘Per medietatem anni in ecclesia residentiam facient, et hanc iurent, nisi forte de episcopi licentia sint absentes.’

1:72

‘Si vero eos peregrinari vel ad scholas velle ire contigerit, episcopus eis licentiam non poterit denegare.’

1:74

‘Graviter irritasset aliquos Leodiensis nobili genere natos, qui magna fide hactenus Episcopo adhaererant, in publico Canonorum conventu pudendi facinoris accusatus est.’

1:75

‘Qui praesentem Principem minime veritus, in publico consessu Episcopi vitia, gravi, intrepidaque oratione ausus est castigare.’

1:82

‘In tantum enim erat Archidiaconus ipse pacis amator, & concordiae promotor, ut si inter dissides, & discordes sperabat posse proficere, non invitatus, nec etiam requisitus, pro bono quietis, & pacis, se ultroneus offerebat.’

1:83

‘Ut dictum Archidiaconum, virum utique sani consilii, & eisdem Regi, & Comiti, nec non Praelatis, atque Baronibus eiusdem Regni dilectum, cuiusque verbis fides suae merito probitatis non dubia fuerat adhibenda, secum haberet, eiusque consiliis uteretur.’

1:105

‘Historia Placentina, Palatii Pontificii Ephemerides, omnes antiqui Codices, ac passim scriptores, imo series ipsa historiae contradicit.’

1:113

‘Si oblitus fuero tui, Hierusalem, oblivioni detur dextera mea. Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui; si non proposuero Hierusalem in principio laetitiae meae.’

1:115

‘Plures ex Cardinalibus, qui sibi occurrerant, ibidem invenit: quibus ipsum concomitantibus, accessit Viterbium.’

2:3

‘Verum te qui terre necessitates illius propriis oculis inspexisti propter quod ad subveniendum eidem [...] debes.’

2:34

‘A .M. .CC. .LXXII., a .XXII. jors d’avril, fu faite la trive du roi de Jherusalem et de Chipre, Hugue de Liseignen et du Soudan Bandoctar, et n’avoit en la trive que le plain d’Acre sans plus et le chemin de Nazareth.’

2:48

‘Ideoque magnitudinem tuam rogamus et hortamur attente quatinus iugum honeris domini pro sui nominis amore supportans circa custodiam et defensionem eiusdem terre sollicite vigiles et labores.’

2:70

‘Exeat igitur, exeat ad fratres et filios, ut scientes incommodum ipsum, prudentius extimantes, cooperationis remedio efficacius pro viribus relevent, et planctum pie compassionis officio dulcius consolentur.’

2:71

‘Lugendum et iterum, ac amare dolendum, quod, sicut in partibus transmarinis non tantum audivimus, sed et oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostre contrectaverunt, proh dolor! detestabilius solito blasphematur in gentibus nomen Christi.’

2:72

‘Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini ut salvare nequeat neque adgravata est auris eius ut non exaudiat sed iniquitates vestrae diviserunt inter vos et Deum vestrum et peccata vestra absconderunt faciem eius a vobis ne exaudiret.’

2:73

‘Propter hoc elongatum est iudicium a nobis et non adprehendet nos iustitia expectavimus lucem et ecce tenebrae splendorem et in tenebris ambulavimus palpavimus sicut caeci parietem et quasi absque oculis adtrectavimus inpegitur meridie quasi in tenebris in caligosis quasi mortui.’

2:75

‘Diras et intolerabiles Terre Sancte pressuras quas olim corporeis vidimus oculis et propria manu palpavimus in minori officio constituti.’

2:78

‘Contulimus cum ducibus exercitus Christiani necnon cum Templariis et Hospitalariis aliisque magnatibus illarum partium quando presentialiter inibi morabamur.’

2:83

‘Sed dum sentimus quod hostium invalescente perfidia terra ipsa magis ac magis dispendio vastitatis exponitur.’

2:96

‘Quod de terra ipsa Christianitati remansit imminere discrimen nisi ad ipsum manutendendum subsidium aliquod navale precipue [...] celeriter mitteretur.’

2:97

‘Prout de consilio incolentium partes easdem processerat.’

2:107

‘Interfuerunt quoque illi concilio nuntii pro Principibus, & aliis habitatoribus Terrae Sanctae diligenti ratione exponentes statum & negotia dictae Terrae.’

2:109

‘Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Tirensem Archiepiscopum unum ex nunciis ab illius terre incolis novissime destinatis ad regiam presentiam venientem serenitati regie fiducialiter commendamus ex affectu rogantes ut ea que tibi ad eiusdem terre utilitatem duxit exponenda favorabiliter audias.’

2:119

‘Dicit, quod non vult christianos affligere, quantum posset, licet sint digni.’

2:148

‘Quod Hostis Aegyptius, cum ingenti exercitu suo, exiit novissime de Babiloniae finibus, & usque ad loca vicina nobis progrediens, ac sua solita calliditate nunc versus Armeniam, nunc versus Tripolim, sed & nunc circa Tyrum, & Accon, & alia nostrorum loca discurrens.’

2:150

‘Sed quid futura dies parturiat, in quos arcum suae pravitatis intendat, quisve futurus sit rerum praemissarum exitus, ignorantes.’

2:160

‘Car le sodans en tient ce qu’il veaut et non plus.’

2:161

‘Qui, cum ingenti suo exercitu, circa fines Damasci moratur, per quem cismarini Christicole cernunt sibi pericula majora prioribus denuo apparere.’

2:164

‘Nam licet de adventu Tartarorum alias invaluit crebrus rumor, nunc actore, ut dicitur, soldano predicto, major viget rumor ille non tamen ut adventum eorum desideret dictus hostis, sed ut forte ex precogitata malicia in locis que remanserunt dampnum aliquod inferat christianis, maxime cum ad presens super eorum adventu a multis credatur haberi grandior certitudo.’

2:171

‘Ex vastitate terre per potenciam paganorum et quia in hoc atmo prohibite sunt stille pluviarum, totam terram premit inedia.’

2:172

‘Novit praeterea extremas Patriarchae Hierosolymitani praedicti, ac religiosorum omnium paupertates.’

2:174

‘Novit ac haec, quantis munitionibus murorum, machinarum, garridarum, galearum, ac bellicorum instrumentorum copia, S. Terrae nostrae muniendae indigeant.’

2:180

‘Nobis ultramarini redditus non sufficiant ad vivendum, et nos sumptus innumerabiles oporteat facere in Terre Sancte defensione et castrorum municionibus que cismarinis Christicolis remanserunt.’

2:181

‘Timemus ne nos oporteat deficere, et Terram Sanctam relinquere desolatam; et idcirco in excusationem nostram defectum hujusmodi majestati regie referimus ut per ipsam aliquod salubre remedium apponatur, ne, si quod propter hujusmodi defectum sinistrum contingeret evenire, nobis non possit in posterum imputari.’

3:19

‘Possemus una cum fratribus nostris dicte terre statui providere.’

3:20

‘Ad hoc solum studia nostra vigili meditatione convertimus ut eidem terre quam in extreme reliqueramus necessitatis articulo constitutam defensionis et gubernationis auxilium proveniret.’

3:22

‘Verum quia non adveniebatur plena satisfactio votis nostris nisi procurarem apponi consilium de perpetuo ipsi terre ministrando subsidio indiximus cum alias commode fieri non posset concilium generale certo termino divina coadjuvante clementia celebrandum.’

3:25

‘Vias et modos quibus iuvare valeat vigilanter exquirimus cum timeatur et quasi evidenter appareat quod vix subsistere poterit quin totaliter decidat status eius nisi ei celeriter succurrat.’

3:28

‘Per dictos enim milites ipsa terra in hostium frontieria constituta manuteneri medio tempore poterit et per galeas alia que consistit in maritimis defensari.’

3:29

‘Si forsitan quod non credimus idem Rex ad hoc exequendum non adeo liberaliter sicut negotii qualitas et urgens necessitas exiget se promptum paratum et facilem exhibeat. Vos ad vitandum exterminium ipsius terre tota mente ut tenemini consurgentes mutuam usque ad quantitatem viginti quinque milium marcarum argenti per quod in militibus et galeis promptus possit haberi succursus ad terram eandem sine tarditatis dispendio destinandus comiter contrahere curetis.’

3:36

‘Ex suspensione namque hujusmodi utilius preparandi negotium et utilem ipsius executionem, juxta nostrum desiderium, modis variis muniendi facultatem querimus.’

3:37

‘Cum soleat longa belli preparatio celerem afferre victoriam.’

3:39

‘Nec enim, fili karissime, nos vel fratres nostros pati deceret, nec quantum in nobis est, procul dubio pateremur te maxime personaliter, tantum aggredi minus consulte negotium, vel in tui presertim regiminis et juventutis auspiciis ad talia prosilire aliter quam deceret excellentiam regiam, per omnia communitum.’

3:45

‘Et les deniers que le seignor roy de France manda au seignor pape por la soustenance dou pais sont ausi come perdus.’

3:46

‘A rege Tunicii recepta pecunia, certa lege seu modo in Terre Sancte subsidium deputata, apud quosdam nobiles deposita dicitur, ab eisdem nobilibus de ipsis lege seu modo inviolabiliter observandis corporali prestito juramento.’

3:51

‘Ecce quantum procuratio succursus eiusdem in terram prefatam cum memorato patriarcha transmissi dictam quantitatem exhausserit quantumve de illa supersit disputatio expensarum factarum circa succursum eiusdem quam tibi per memoratum capellanum mittimus apertius indicabit.’

3:62

‘Hinc te attentione debita considerare supponimus quantum expediat terre predictae residuum quod christianitati remansit ad promptiorem totius recuperationem deo preduce promovendam manu tenere sollicitate ac omnia que inimicos crucis terre illius occupatores infestos et detentores inmundos potentiores efficiunt pervigili studio et studiosa vigilantia impedire.’

3:63

‘Novit autem excellentia regia quod predictum residuum absque victualium copia que defensoribus eius sufficiat defensari non potest non ad altius recuperationem intendi.’

3:66

‘Ita ut, perditis (wrongly, ‘predictis’ in Guiraud’s edition) fere civitatibus et munitioibus universis ac fidelibus ipsarum populis pene omnibus in ore gladii trucidatis, paucis eorundem fidelium reliquiis vix alius quam supradictae terre extremus locus, civitas videlicet Acconensis, et due alie potuerint ad vite presidium conservari, reliquiis ipsis pre sui exiguitate nequaquam sufficientibus defensare civitates easdem, nec valentibus protractum diutius expectare subsidium, et quibus etiam ad tempus vix conceditur respirare.’

3:88

‘In se onus presertim gentis illuc mittende susciperet et predicti navalis subsidii preparandi forsitan remitteret curam nobis.’ ‘Si ei ad hoc propter occupationes aliquas oportunitas non adesset, saltem nobis certam quantitatem de pecunia Tunicii.’

3:98

‘Afferre poterat in illis partibus mora tua, oraculo tibi vive vocis injunxit, ut ibidem pro Terre Sancte tuitione atque custodia remaneres, ipsius promissione secuta, quod tibi suo loco et tempore in expensis necessariis provideret.’

3:133

‘Non horres adulterii facinus horribile matrimonialis coniunctionis actori horrendum hominibus quorum seperat caritatem? Sunt ne ista preparatoria vie tue peregrinationis quam in terram illam tam laudabiliter tam publice obtulisti. Num te latet quod maculas criminum oportet abstergere ut deo acceptabiliter serviatur?’

3:136

‘Ignoremus quot iam stipendiarios et quales admiseris quotque admittendi supersint.’

3:137

‘Aptos et utiles, non voluptuosos nec pomposos aut immoderatos in sumptibus.’

3:141

‘Monuimus ut in expensis faciendis in illo et specialiter quoad stipendiarios assumendos in subsidium dicte terre, illa diligentia uteris quod non pateret detractationibus aditus sed laudabilis tue prosecutionis evidentia ora detrahentium clauderentur. Verum in contrarium res lapsa non solum murmuratur ab aliquibus sed a multis quasi publice affirmatur. Non enim desunt qui murmurent, qui detrahant, non qui calumpnientur actus tuos, asserentes quod inhabiles, immo multos prorsus inutiles et viles, aliquorum, ut creditur, devictus precibus vel circumventus fallaciis, in stipendiarios recepisti. Quod si consonent facta relatibus non dubium non solum in fame tue opprobrium sed in ejusdem terre grave dispendium redundare.’

3:145

‘Cum enim olim LX milia librarum turonensium in subventionem ipsius terre per clare memorie L., regem Francorum deputata, incuria ministrorum non in utilitatem terre predictae conversa sed quasi omnino deperdita, multorum ad defensionem ejusdem terre alias intendencium debilitaverint animos et a prosecutione hujusmodi defensionis averterint, non est dubium quod, si commissa tibi ejusdem terre subventio similis, quod absit, negligencie continuatione deperat, non solum debilitabuntur corda defensionis terre prefate insistentium et aspirantium ad eandem, sed forsitan penitus desperabunt.’

3:156

‘Desideremus admodum et decreverimus firmo proposito quod ad terram ipsam accedas personaliter cum comitiva decenti, quam predictae quantitatis residuum patietur.’

3:160

‘Omnesque cruce signatos et cruce signandos pro dicte terre subsidio, quos sub nostra et dicte sedis protectione suscipimus, non permittas contra immunitates et privilegia cruce signatis a predicta sede concessa, ab aliquibus indebite molestari.’

3:163

‘Et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum.’

4:108

‘Rex Cypri, antequam de Tyro recederet, de nuntiis ordinat transmittendis, ad Occidentales Reges & Principes, maxime ad Papam & Cardinales, qui inobedientiam denuntient eorum, qui Ptolomaydae commorantur: orans ut de eis ac regni Ierosolymitani statu adhibeant salubre remedium. Maria vero praedicta, quae Romanam curiam continue sequebatur, supra cap.XIII. velut haeres, petitionem de obtinendo regno Ierusalem assidue prosequens, per Templi nuntios superius narrata cuncta cognouerat.’

4:109

‘Maria vero praedicta, quae Romanam curiam continue sequebatur, supra cap.XIII. velut haeres, petitionem de obtinendo regno Ierusalem assidue prosequens, per Templi nuntios superius narrata cuncta cognouerat.’

4:116

‘Si vera sint, ledit viscera, nimirum cum statum illius terre sancte Christi sanguine consecrate iaculo verisimilis lesionis offendat.’

4:130

‘Ad hoc solum studia nostra vigili meditatione convertimus ut eidem terre quam in extreme reliqueramus necessitatis articulo constitutam defensionis et gubernationis auxilium proveniret.’

4:131

‘Nova athleta fidelis accrevit pastor utique pervigil et gregis sibi commissi perutilis gubernator videlicet venerabilis frater noster Ierosolimitanus patriarcha.’

4:132

‘Non minus utiliter statui dicte terre quam eiusdem ecclesie regimini cum existat [...] speramus et credimus providisse.’

4:134

‘Pro utilitate et evidenti necessitate tocius civitatis Accon, ad preces et petitionem nostram et domini Hugonis de Lezanico, Dei gratia illustris regis Cypri et Jerusalem, et fratrum Minorum ac aliorum quamplurium, vir religiosus frater Thomas, thesaurarius sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitanti, nomine ejusdem domus et pro ipsa domo, emisset a Richardo Anglico, cive Acconensi, duas domos, sitas in ruga Tanerie Accon, censuales episcopo et ecclesie Ebronensi.’

4:135

‘Si autem Rex non daret, vel dare differret infra tres septimanas, vel mensem, non sit propter hoc praejudicium Regi Hierosolymitano.’

4:137

‘Inter vos et religiosos ceteros Acconenses mutua viget affectio.’

4:140

‘Cujus indulgentie pretextu iidem magister et fratres militie Templi hujusmodi redemptiones et legata in regno Jerosolimitano, sede Jerosolomitana vacante, hactenus recipere inciperunt, et times, ut asseris, ne, et fratres dicti hospitalis in eodem regno velint recipere in tuum prejudicium et gravamen.’

4:142

‘Quatenus redemptiones et legata eadem in ispo Regno recipere nullatenus presumatis.’

4:144

‘Cum enim olim LX milia librarum turonensium in subventionem ipsius terre per clare memorie L., regem Francorum deputata, incuria ministrorum non in utilitatem terre predicte conversa sed quasi omnino deperdita.’

4:177

‘Quod nostre intentionis non existit, sicut nec esse debuit nec existit, quod per intitulationem hujusmodi seu denominationem in nostris litteris appositam hactenus, vel in futurum forsitan apponendam, tibi quo ad regnum Jerosolimitanum, quod ad te spectare asseris, prejudicium generetur.’

4:179

‘Episcopus, hujusmodi appellationibus vilipensis, predictum Hugonem in Jerosolimitanum regem de facto, cum de jure non posset, pro sue voluntatis libito asseritur coronasse.’

4:186

‘Damoisele Marie, qui tous jors sivoit la court, por ce qu’ele avoit touz jors mis debat au reaume de Jerusalem et le demandoit come son propre heritage, avoit ja moult bien seu ceste besoigne par les messages dou Temple, qui au roi Charle et a li estoient venus por haster le fait, qui longuement avoit este porparlez de faire dou au dit roy Charle de la raison qu’ele avoit au dit reaume.’

4:208

‘Regi Siciliae illustri. Patet liquido illud modicum Terrae sanctae residuum, quod Christianitas obtinet, ex eo maxime immensis patere periculis, quod exinanitum opibus, bellatorum ope desertum, incolarum suorum viribus etiam per unitatem concordiae collatis in unum, non solum in sui defensione deficit; sed & aliorum subsidium non sufficit expectare. Quid igitur si guerrarum diffidiis exponatur? Cum per eas opulenta decidant, numquid exinanita consurgent? Cum debilitentur fortia, numquid debilia convalescent? Profecto non tam verendum quam supponendum videtur omnimodis, quod sub intestinarum guerrarum mole non stabit; cum contra impetitiones extrinsecas Cypri, in intrinsecae pacis tranquillitate vix duret. Non immerito itaque relatum nobis dilecti filii nobilis viri comitis Brenensis propositum, quo disponere dicitur, ut regnum Cypri cum armatis invadat, animum nostrum multa solitudine inquietat, ne idem comes ante Christianitatis statum, prout in proximo de omnipotentia divina speratur, in illis partibus reformatum, per invasionem hujusmodi regnum praedictum nimiae turbationis exponendo discrimini, non sine grandi ejusdem Christianitatis gravamine, manibus illud inimicorum exponat; & duobus contententibus, utriusque tertius inimicus in mari turbato piscabitur; comes ipse ad recuperandum jus suum, quod in regno praedicto eidem, ut asserit, justitia repromittit intendens, recuperationis spem sibi omnino praecidat. Ideoque serenitatem regiam rogamus attentius, & hortamur, in remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes, quatenus praemissum comitis memorati propositum prorsus impediatis, nec in effectum deduci aliquatenus patiatis; ne per ipsius Christianitatis discordias vires inimicorum crucis in tantam confusionem Christiani nominis augeantur, & ad liberationem terrae praedictae piis ordinationibus concilii via quasi totaliter praecludatur. Hujusmodi autem nostras preces & monita sic efficaciter sedulus exequaris, quod aeternae retributionis apud Dominum assequaris exinde praemium, & apud homines praeconii memorabilis incrementum.’

5:54

‘La secunde, de ce que se l’esglise li consiloit que le prenist, et requiroit que l’esglise le monstret le raisons.’

5:61

‘Securiter rescribatis capitaneis vestris, quod dominus papa et ecclesia Romana volunt, quod imperator eligatur et fiat, verumtamen non vult, quod Fredericus de Stuffa vel excommunicatus aliquis sit imperator.’

5:64

‘Nuncii regis Boemie recesserunt de curia alacriter, inter quos est Iacobus de Roba de Cremona, qui nobis dixit, quod non displicebat ecclesie, quod rex Boemie per principes Alemanie eligeretur in regem Romanorum.’

5:68

‘Li rois Loys mes pères fu an Aubigois et an revenant fu mors croisez d’outremer. Li rois Philippes fu avec le roi Richart.’

5:69

‘Après, li rois ne prent mie l’ampire que por faire le servise Deu, que il plus fort chevalerie puisse assembler contre les annemis de la foi.’

5:72

‘Gerentes ferventi spiritu in mentis desiderio, illi terrae sanctae [...] tam potenter quam patienter succurrere, quod Dei populus, per multa tempora ab hostibus crucis Christi afflictus, pariter et constrictus, ad Christi gloriam, sepulchrum Domini intrepide valeat visitare.’

5:75

‘Solent ardua, precipue propensis digesta consiliis, sentire potius celeritatis ex directione compendium, quam pati dispendium tarditatis; sic longa belli preparatio celerem consuevit afferre victoriam, sic iter festinantur instanter dum sollicite preparatur. Hec nos consideratio in imperialis negotii prosecutione hucusque detinuit, hec in tui consummatione fastigii multa uti maturitate suasit, hec varias vias suggessit exquirere diversaque remedia cogitare ut deo auspice tanto illa que instant deducamus securius quanto accuratius preparamus. Licet itaque non sine causa distulerimus hactenus regiam tibi denominationem ascribimus, cum fratribus tamen nostris nuper deliberatione prehabita te regem romanorum de ipsorum consilio nominamus.’

5:78

‘Magna et utilia dei servia pro quibus concilium congregavimus et precipue status miserabilis terre sancte que in illius prorogatione aperta et periculosa impedimenta deplorant.’

5:79

‘Ut postquam dictos Rex patentes litteras tibi concesserit suo sigillo signatas per quas se omnino a dicto negotio Imperii desistere vel ipsius dispositionem libere in manibus nostris ponere nostrique arbitrii relinquere liberari ac in partibus Africe impugnationem Sarracenorum assumere fateatur.’

5:82

‘Nos itaque volentes circa hec animarum saluti et terre predictae dispendio providere, discretioni tuae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus universos et singulos viros et mulieres, cujuscumque ordinis, status et conditionis existant, quos in eodem regno et aliis tui legationis terris, contigerit inveniri signum Crucis taliter assumpsisse, ac postmodum minime transfretasse, ad consummationem voti, publice fore denuntians ac per alios denunciari facians obligatos, non obstante quod Tunicium accesserunt, ipsos emissum votum personaliter in ejusdem terre subsidium, [...] adimplere compellas.’

5:84

‘Tu illi decimam omnium ecclesiasticorum reddituum suorum regnorum et terrarum usque ad sex annos ad idem terre predictae subsidium in presenti sacro concilio deputatam per eosdem sex annos sicut eidem terre concessa est apostolica commissa tibi ut premittitur in hac parte auctoritate concedas ut impugnationem quam contra eosdem Sarracenos assumpserit cum minori sumptuum gravamine prosequatur.’

5:92

‘Pro defensione fidei christiane contra Sarracenos Africe.’

5:93

‘Nos igitur attendentes discrimina que pro defensione christianitatis continue sustinetis in partibus Africanis, ac volentes vos propter hoc speciali gratia prosequi et favore, vobis quod de proventibus vestris decimam hujusmodi solvere minime teneamini, [...] indulgemus.’

5:94

‘Cuiuscumque pre(e)minentie, conditionis vel ordinis aut status religionis vel ordinis, quibus et eorum alicui nulla privilegia vel indulgentias sub quacumque verborum forma vel expressione concessa volumus suffragari set ea, que ad hoc penitus revocamus.’

5:95

‘Cum negotium quod de imperiali fastigii regimine iminet sine ulterioris more dispendio expediri iustitia manifesta suadeat innumere mundi necessitates exigant. Magna et utilia dei servia pro quibus concilium congregavimus et precipue status miserabilis terre sancte que in illius prorogatione aperta et periculosa impedimenta deplorant instantie continuatione requirant et ad eius expeditionem accelerandam omnimodis [...] curaverimus.’

5:96

‘Et licet dicti negotii expeditionem innumere orbis et precipue ipsius imperii ac terre sancte necessitates exposcerent.’

5:103

‘Ut per hoc mundus cognoscat et videant universi, quod ille qui fons iusticie debetur esse in terra, iustitiam nobis denegat.’

5:104

‘Cunctis diebus nostris ad exaltandam matrem ecclesiam pro catholica fide pugnavimus. Qui non nisi iustum ab eo et solam iusticiam postulamus, non pro speciali commodo, Deus novit, set ad honorem Dei specialiter et pro statu pacifico populi christiani. Invenimus autem omnem austeritatem in eo, non velut in pio patre set sicut in domino carnali.’

5:106

‘Nec compaciens christianorum naufragii, qui se ipsos continue destruunt et occidunt, cum non sit qui eorum iniquitatibus obviet et disensionibus ponat finem.’

5:108

‘Imperiale negocium tam de iure quam de facto prosequi volumus modis omnibus, personaliter et potenter in Lombardiam venire penitus absque dilatione aliqua.’

5:123

‘Sarracenorum impugnatione predictorum in grandem favorem magnumque cedit auxilium dicte terre cum illi qui terram ipsam vexationibus variis absque intermissione conturbant horum persepe suffragiis foveantur.’

5:130

‘Rex Castelle ac Legionis illustris, super eodem negotio nostris beneplacitis acquievit.’

5:131

‘Sed, sicut multorum fidedignorum assertionem didicimus, dictus rex in suis litteris se regem Romanorum intitulat, sicut prius.’

5:132

‘Rex varias litteras quampluribus magnatibus Alemanie necnon et comunitatibus Italie destinavit, affirmans in illis se a dicto imperii negotio nec destitisse nec velle desistere.’

5:133

‘Regem moneas ac efficaciter inducere studeas ut ab hiis et dimilibus omnino desistat, sigillo ac intitulatione premissis de cetero non usurus.’

5:141

‘Quartam recipere pro ipsius negotii subsidio portionem decimique clerici et laici residuum fructuum earumdem.’

5:145

‘Laudabilem quem ad Terre Sancte negotium geris affectum in Domino commendamus; propositum quod ad illius promotionem, [...] concepisti.’

5:148

‘In terre sancte subsidium cum decenti bellatorum comitiva personaliter proficisci tibi.’

5:149

‘Scire te volumus quod [...] ab imminente Sarracenorum persecutione in qua te regem ipsum deferere non deceret tranquillato statu.’

5:150

‘Dicto subsidio terre predictae tibi facultas affuerit premissae supplicationi tue libenter quantum cum poterimus annuemus.’

6:25

‘Solent quos ardua promovenda sollicitant eos sibi stimulos sollicitationis adicere ut circa illa que incumbunt nichil transeat indiscussum ne ipsos forte peniteat preterisse aliquid inprovisum quod postmodum fuisse reputent previdendum. Licet itaque carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Regem Francorum Illustrem te ac ipsius et tuos consiliarios cum vacat huiusmodi sollicitudinem prosequi circa terre sancte negotium extimemus ut tamen addatur sollicitudo sollicitis distinctione tue per dilectum filium magistrum Guillelmum de Matisconem capellanum nostrum sub sigillo piscatoris aliqua que terre predictae credimus necessaria destinamus quatenus illius et que idem Rex tu ac predicti consilarii circa idem negotium previdistis inspectis ea que post deliberationem habitam ipsi Regi et tibi insa fuerint utiliora procedant.’

6:30

‘Si vero tu, rex predictae, personaliter illuc proficisci nequiveris vel nolueris, volumus quod tu, fili princeps, decimam eandem simili modo per dictum tempus habeas, si tamen ipsius terre negotium transfretando, juxta dispositionem eandem, in generali passagio in persona propria prosequaris.’

6:35

‘Specialiter utrum ipse predecessor ac reges personaliter transfretare disponerent vel eidem terre per missionem subsidii subvenire. Quo tempore generale passagium sit futurum. Qui et quot reges crucis assumpsere signaculum. Quantumve subsidium iidem predecessor et reges

si eos non transfretare contingent destinarent. Et an pacifice vel per guerram intenderent habere processum.'

6:37

'De adiutorio quod dicit dominus noster imperator facere in terra sancta hoc dicimus nos, et affirmamus quod tota intentio sua et promptitudo est ad faciendum totaliter adiutorium in terra sancta, et per exercitum, et per pecuniam, et per victualia, et per omnimodam aliam providentiam, solum modo si habuerit pacem cum vicinis suis Latinis. [...] Et hec parati sumus predicare in plateis et in civitatibus et super pulpita, cum a sanctissimo domino nostro papa nobis fuerit imperatum.'

6:68

'Prohibite sunt [...] ex discordia regum et principum in partibus occidentis Babyloniorum nos concutit superbia et vexat malicia et novis occasionibus interiectis cismarinam Christianitatem intendunt pro viribus conculcare.'

6:69

'Sive nos Deus de labore hujus infirmitatis eripiat, sive de ergastulo corporalis fragilitatis educat, Ecclesiam eius semper diligas & honores, eique sicut Princeps piissimus, & Christianissimus Imperator, pacem conferre satagas & quietem, ut, sive vivimus, sive morimur, in eius praesentia de tuis bonis operibus gloriemur, cui etiam in praesenti vita pro debito nostrae servitutis assistimus, & ad quem de sua misericordia praesumentes, si nos evocare voluerit, cum fiducia procedemus.'

6:80

'Non continentes novi aliquid, sed licet sub diversitate verborum, quod hactenus scripseras repetentes.'

6:81

'Sed nec imperii leges immutare intendimus aut ipsius consuetudinibus derogare; propter quod nec expedit nec nostrum deceret officium regi eidem interdicere.'

6:82

'Nec memorato regi, nec cuiquam alii concessisse sed [...] rex quilibet personaliter negotium praedictum assumens hujusmodi decimam in terris suis ad ipsius negotii prosecutionem obtineat, nec memorato regi nec tibi denegare proponimus.'

6:83

'Quid circumspectionem regiam sic a semitis rationis abduxit, ut in ea prorumperes, quae nobis per tuas literas destinasti.'

6:84

‘Non desistemus a coeptis sed tractatui concordiae inter te ac regem praedictum pacis auctore praevio sic efficaciter insistemus.’

6:102

‘Cujus negotium cordi regis specialiter insidet, ut speramus.’

6:103

‘Videlicet, quia, dominus summus Pontifex nos duxit nuper cum instantia requirendos utrum proficisci vellemus necne in subsidium Terrae Sanctae cui adhuc respondere nequivimus pro eo quod nondum deliberavimus, quod illorum agere debeamus, proficisci, videlicet, seu etiam remanere. Postquam autem super praedictis deliberatione praehabita, summo Pontifici responderimus supradicto.’

6:110

‘Christianitas subjaceat periculis, quam nocivum Terre Sancte negotio paretur obstaculum, quanta strages christicolis immineat.’

6:112

‘Ut, in generali ad Terram Sanctam passagio proximo, personaliter ad eandem terram proficiscamur, vel charissimum fratrem nostrum, Edmundum Lancastriae comitem, pro nobis transmittamus ibidem.’

6:132

‘Victualibus armis vasis navalibus et aliis necessariis causa dampnati questus Christi muniunt inimicos.’

6:133

‘Sedis apostolice [...] volens adhibere circa premissa remedium illos falsos et impios Christianos qui Sarracenis deferre presumerent arma ferrum et lignamina galearum eos etiam qui galeas venderent illis aut naves quique gubernationis curam in piraticis Sarracenorum navibus exercerent vel in machinis aut quibuslibet aliis aliquod auxilium vel consilium eisdem impenderent anathematis et excommunicationis vinculo innodavit ipsos que rerum suarum privatione mulctari et capientium servos fore decrevit.’

6:134

‘In partibus illis pseudo Christiani recipiunt illuc mercimonia deferentes si de aliquibus gravaminibus conquerantur hac eos probrosa responsione Sarraceni confundunt si erueremus vobis alterum oculorum ad nos cum reliquo rediretis prout iidem mercatores nobis eo tempore in regione terre sancte morantibus expressius retulerunt.’

6:136

‘In suo redditu de partibus transmarinis super hoc venerabili fratris nostri patriarche Jerosolimitani ac dilectorum filiorum...Hospitalis et...Templi magistrorum vel ipsorum in partibus illis vires gerentium testimoniales litteras exhibebunt.’

6:137

‘Contra illos vero qui ut premittitur adversus Christianos per ea que Sarracenis deferunt ipsos muniunt Sarracenos generale promulges edictum ut omnes de predictis terris tuis seu tue iurisdictioni subiectis talia comittentes sint ipso facto privati omnibus bonis suis fisco irrevocabiliter applicandis et contra tales facias prout expedire videris frequenter inquiri ut executionem recipiat quod contra reos tanti criminis duxeris statuendum.’

6:146

‘Nec enim, fili karissime, nos vel fratres nostros pati deceret, nec quantum in nobis est, procul dubio pateremur te maxime personaliter, tantum aggredi minus consulte negotium, vel in tui presertim regiminis et juventutis auspiciis ad talia prosilire aliter quam deceret excellentiam regiam, per omnia communitum.’

6:148

‘Et quoniam, prout omnium tenet firmiter indubitata credulitas, de dirigendo negotio terrae hujus felicitate cogitatis, & anhelatis, propterea de statu ejus frequentius informari, praesentia.’

6:153

‘Ad excellentiam tuam credimus pervenisse qualiter in prima sessione concilii nuper congregati Lugduni, publice ac patenter ediximus quod, si, divina gratia nostris desideriis annuente, status mundi et casuum emergentium circumstantie paterentur, intendebamus in generali passagio cum christiano exercitu transfretare, ut quod salubriter aliis pro Terre Sancte liberatione verbo suggerimus, etiam opere predicemus; ad hoc tamen nullo nos voto astrinximus, quia nec expedire putavimus nec decere.’

6:161

‘Plangent, & ululent super se insuper omnes tribus terrae de Patris subtractione fidelis, sed illi potissime, qui assumpto vivificae crucis victorioso signaculo, sub ejusdem Patris securo ducatu, contra blasphemos nominis Christiani hostes potenter insurgere gestiebant.’

6:167

‘Sine nostro et apostolice sedis speciali mandato, ad terram ipsam passagium statui aut tempus passagii diffiniri nullatenus patiaris, sed statutum et diffinitionem hujusmodi constanti prohibitionem studeas impedire.’

6:168

‘Communi et omnium Christi fidelium debet cooperatione fulciri. Propter quod, utile fore prospeximus ad id convertere majoris attentionis intuitum et in eo adhibere studium providentie plenioris, ut ad redemptionem terre prefate cunctorum in unum conflatur auxilium, et in eodem tempore concurrat ibidem totius Christi exercitus fortitudo. Ideoque, ne sit christianitatis virtus divisa debilior, sed quanto erit unione potentior tanto felicioribus, Deo preduce, auspiciis potiatur.’

6:203

‘Prohibemus insuper omnibus Christianis et sub anathemate interdicens, ne in terris Sarracenorum, qui partes orientales inhabitant, usque ad VI annos transmeant aut transvehant naves suas, ut per hoc volentibus transfretare in subsidium Terre Sancte maior copia navigii preparatur.’

6:207

‘Et fu esleu a pape de Rome mi sire Thealz .i. vaillant clerc né de Plaisance. Et revindrent en Acre li message que mi sire Odouart et la Crestienté avoient envoies as Tartars por querre secors; et firent si bien la besoigne qu’il amenerent les Tartars et corurent toute la terre d’Antioche et de Halape, de Haman et de La Chamele jusques a Cesaire la Grant. Et tuerent ce qu’il trouverent de Sarrazins, et de la s’en retournerent es mares qui sont a l’entrée de Turquie a tot grant gaaing d’esclas et grant bestiaail. Et la se herbergierent por reposer apres les grans travaux qu’il avoient soffert du grant chemin qu’il avoient fait, et por l’erbage, et por la grant plene des eves qu’il trouverent en la terre, por le grant bestiaail qu’il menoient.’

6:208

‘Quam immaniter idem manibus madescens, & gladio in sanguine Christi fidelium miserabiliter regni Armeniae per dierum viginti spatium circa stragem viventium incendia villarum, & urbium, & finalem depopulationem omnium, quae potuit impetuose attingere, debachatur, ibidem immisericorditer rabiem ab olim concepto furore explevit, & regno dissipato hujus, & totaliter desolato, in regionem Antiochenam pervenit, ibique (ut fertur) cum toto potenti suo exercitu immoratur.’

6:209

‘Quant li sodans fu issu de Babiloine et ot fait ce que il deveit faire en Hermenie, il s’entornerent arriers en Babiloine a l’orbage et refreichia o ses gens, car li sodans avoit fait mot grant guahan en Hermenie.’

6:212

‘Ceterum, super hiis que per nuntios et litteras predictas tua magnificentia intimavit, ante Christiani exercitus ad transmarinas partes adventum, disponimus ad tuam presentiam legatos nostros, prout opportunitas permiserit, destinare, qui et magnitudini tue ad illa plene respondeant.’

6:216

‘Papa Gregorius [...] michi mandavit in concilio Lugdunensi ut in scriptis ponerem qualiter Terra Sancta acquiri posset de manibus infidelium, et qualiter acquisita possit a Xpisti fidelibus conservari.’

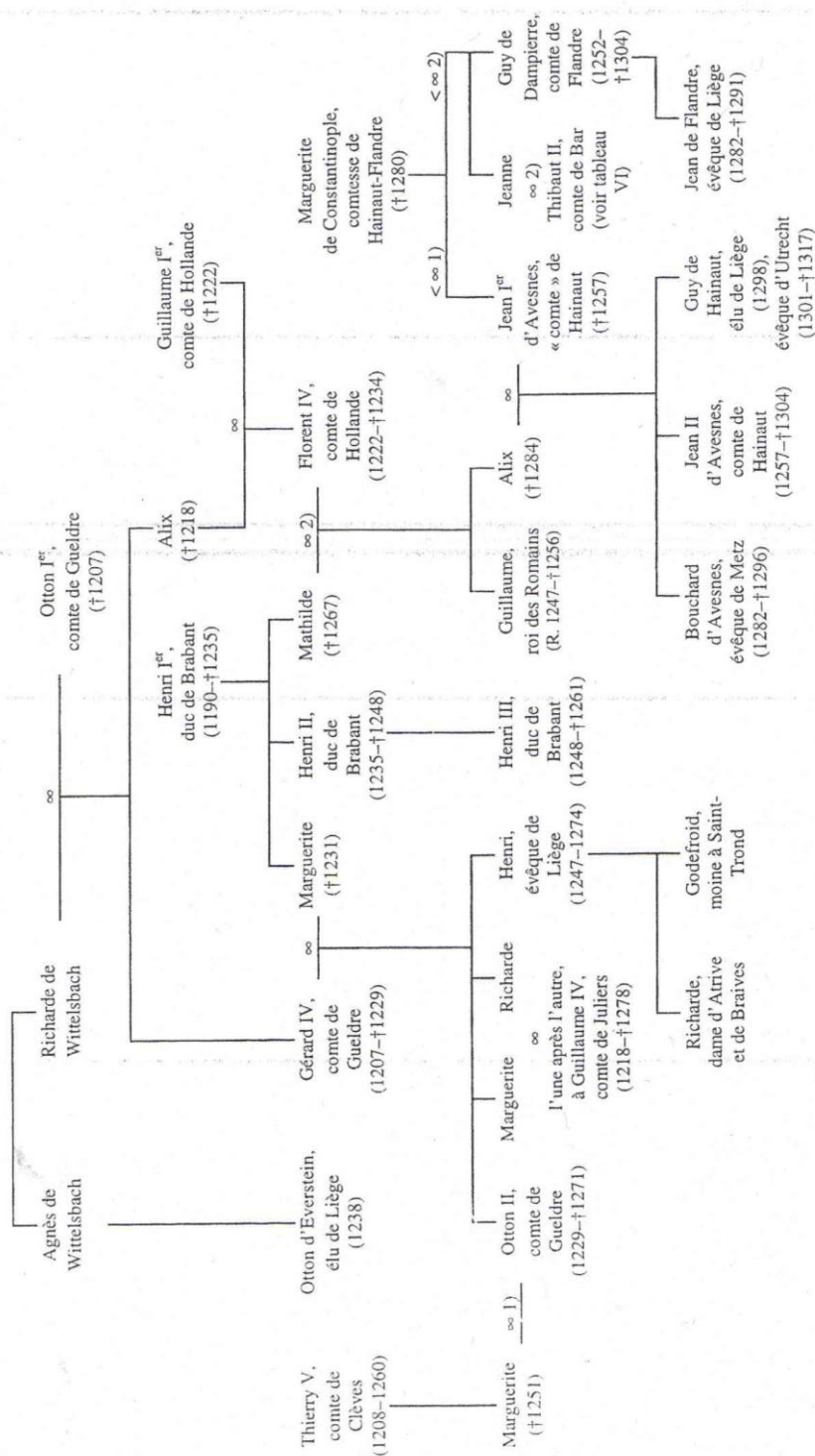
6:218

‘Duo debent esse exercitus Xpistianorum, scilicet unus qui pugnet per mare et alius qui pugnet per terram.’

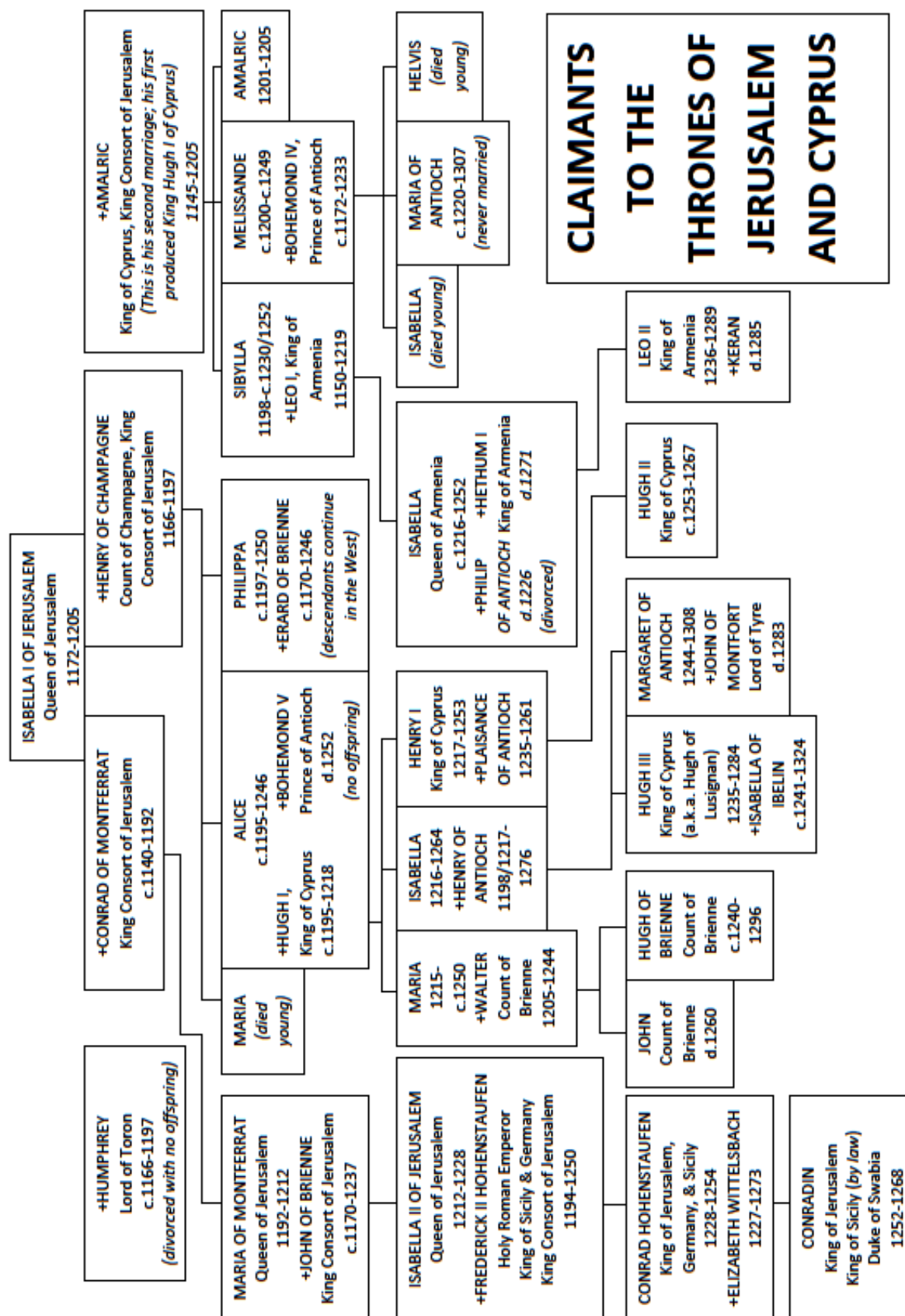
APPENDIX B

Family Tree of Henry of Guelders, Bishop of Liège

Source: Alain Marchandisse, *La fonction épiscopale à Liège aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles: étude de politologie historique* (Geneva, 1998), p. 507.



APPENDIX C



APPENDIX D

*Charles of Anjou's Dealings with the Holy Land and the Military Orders
Immediately before and during Gregory X's Papal Reign,
from the Angevin Chancery Records*

<i>WHAT</i>	<i>WHEN</i>	<i>WHO</i>	<i>WHERE</i>	<i>SOURCE</i> <i>(Volume:Page:Number)</i>
Agreement of service to Charles	1266	Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, with his knights, shield-bearers, and servants		1:54-5:119
Expenses paid for service to Charles	1268	Hospitaller Brother Philip of Eglis, with other Hospitallers and mercenaries		1:124:46
Treasurer in Charles' court	1268-	Templar Arnulf		1:171:270&271 1:172:272 1:181:30 1:183:314, et al
Permission to take 100 packloads of wheat for Templar use only	April 1269	Templars	From Bari	2:58:206
Permission to take 500 packloads of wheat and 1,000 packloads of barley, no stipulations	June 1269	Templar Mace-bearer	To Acre	2:124:473
Permission to ship five horses and mules	July 1269	Hospitaller Brother John of Villiers	To Outremer	3:286:2 5:277:5
Permission to ship two horses and a great magnitude of provisions 'in aid of the Holy Land'	July 1269	Francis of Flanders, knight, with two squires and three mercenaries	From Bari or Brindisi	1:290:393
Permission to take supplies of wheat given in alms	July 1269	Brother Aymonis of the knights of St. Thomas of Acre	To Acre	1:292:398 2:134:516
Permission to take 2,000 packloads of wheat, 1,000 packloads of barley, and 1,000 packloads of pulses to be distributed by Hospitallers, Templars, Teutonic Knights, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and Geoffrey of Sargines	July 1269	Peter of Neocastro, prior of the Hospitallers	To Acre	1:293:402 1:295:410
Concerning the possession of the castle of Ricarcari	July 1269	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi		1:293:403

Permission to send goods overseas	August 1269	Hospitallers	To Outremer	1:299:428&429
Provision for travel with a supply of wood, in order to build instruments and machines of war	November 1269	Honorius, carpenter of King Louis IX	To the Holy Land	5:180:317
Permission to sail	1269	Roger Amatoni of Barletta	To Acre	4:90:588
Permission to sail, provided that they go to the Hospitaller master at Acre	1269	Homodeo Flidoni of Lucca and Conrad Salvacossa de Iscla	To Acre	4:129:853
Permission to take merchandise to Acre	1269	Bono the Accursed Malafaytato, Henry Arnolfini, Bartholomew Santos, Johannes Mellosus, and Bonaiuncta Salvacossa de Iscla	To Acre	4:129:854
Permission to take supplies for the defence of Acre	1269	Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre	To Acre	4:100:661
Provision in Acre <i>contra</i> Raymond Boniface	1269	Philip and Bartholomew Mainebeuf, and Raymond Boniface, former consul of Marseilles	Acre	4:136:901
Provision for Hospitaller brothers and sisters	1269	Hospitaller brothers and sisters		4:58:371
Permission to take 500 packloads of wheat to be shared with the Teutonic knights and the Hospitallers	January 1270	Templar Brother Hugh Bertrand	From Bari or Brindisi, to Acre	3:278:911 3:239:715
300 packloads of wheat, 200 packloads of barley, and 16 horses, mules, and she-mules 'in aid of the Holy Land,' to be shared with the Templars and the Teutonic Knights	February 1270	Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel	Holy Land	3:189:474
400 packloads of wheat, no stipulations	March 1270	Teutonic Knights	To Acre	3:192:489
Aid for the faithful in Acre, not allowed to be given to the Greeks, Muslims, Pisans, or any enemies	April 1270	Hospitallers	To Acre	5:27:124

Disagreement between vicar of Marseilles and Templars over delivery of goods to Acre	October 1270	Templar Brother Peter Carbonello	Acre	6:42:147
Expenses for messengers from Baybars	December 1270	Messengers from Baybars		6:159:819
Protection for the goods and people of Cohemis, who are going to the Holy Land	December 1270	People of Cohemis	To Holy Land	6:267:1447
Shipment of wheat and barley, not for the lands of Michael Palaeologus	1270	Templars and Hospitallers	Acre	6:238-9:1270
Shipment to the Templars in Acre blown off course, returned to Italy	1270	Templar Brother Stephen	Acre/Italy	7:17-8:43
Charles orders Maria's goods from a shipwreck to be tracked down and given to her	1270 or 1271	Maria of Antioch	Milazzo	6:189:982
Permission to take wheat from Sicily	January 1271	John II of Brittany, earl of Richmond	To Acre	6:192:1003
Messenger from Baybars is given a robe of scarlet, and a blue robe for his son	January 1271	Messenger from Baybars		6:165:853
An appeal by Arnulf Guinea because of Otto de Vrazigniis' failure to go to the Holy Land with him as promised	January 1271	Count Arnulf Guinea, and the knight Otto de Vrazigniis		6:194:1019
Distributing goods in Sicily	February 1271	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi	Sicily	6:201:1067 6:202:1075
Permission to take wheat and Barley from Apulia	March 1271	Templars	To Acre	6:140:706
Suspicion that supplies of barley, wheat, oil, fruit, wood, and wine had been taken to the prince of Achaea rather than to Acre, but the merchants did not do this, so that case was closed	March 1271	Risona of Marra, master of the port of Apulia, and three Lucan merchants: Guido Panici, Bommocino Trentini, and Bandino of Fundora		6:205:1091
2,000 packloads of wheat and barley, 100 packloads of pulses from Apulia for the Hospitallers	March 1271	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi	To Acre	7:62:44

Expenses and necessities for a messenger from Baybars to leave port in Sicily for Alexandria or Acre	April 1271	Messenger from Baybars	To Alexandria or Acre	6:175:911
Provision for sending messengers to Baybars	April 1271	Messengers of Charles: Dominican Peter de Beania and Brother Berengar	To Baybars	6:176:913 6:217:1162
Hospitallers free from taxation in Charles' kingdom; they are owed three ballistae by Charles' court for shipment to Acre	June 1271	Hospitallers	To Acre	6:248-9:1328
Charles is happy about the papal election because Tedaldo will send aid to the Holy Land	September 1271	Tedaldo Visconti	Acre, Holy Land	7:248:196
Messengers have been sent to the new pope in Acre	November 1271	The pope	Acre	5:219:19
Money for the reception of the new pope from Acre	December 1271	The pope	Acre	7:95:19&21
Payment of money to Maria	1271	Maria of Antioch		7:130:127
Templars transferring supplies to Acre; they are owed a ballista by Charles' court	1271	Sabinus, master of the Templars at Bari	To Acre	7:45:198
Permission to take supplies from Apulia	1271	Templar Brother Arnulf of Ursemali	To Acre	7:199:99
Hugh sends Jacob to serve Charles	1271	Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel, Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi		7:233:142
Barley ordered to be restored to Hospitallers	1271	Hospitaller Preceptor Simon of Letto	Aversa	7:197:76
Permission for the Hospitallers to take supplies with no stipulations	1271	Hospitallers	From Bari to Acre	7:200:104
Permission for the Teutonic Knights to take supplies for their own use	1271	Teutonic Knights	From Apulia to Acre	7:200:107
Immunity for the Hospitallers taking supplies	1271	Hospitallers	From Bari to Acre	8:48:81

Order not to molest the Hospitallers who are taking things for Acre	1271	Hospitallers	From Bari to Acre	8:52:112
Concerning a house that Jacob possesses	1271	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi	Messina	8:61:174
Provision for the necessary vessels to send word to Acre from the cardinals of the papal election	1271	College of Cardinals, and the pope	To Acre	7:232:133
Money should be sent for the arrival of the new pope	1271	The pope	From Acre	5:236:110
Money for Sergius' ship to carry messengers to the new pope	1271	Sergius the Bull of Salerno, Fulk of Podio Riccardi, and Templar Brother Stephen of Syse	To Acre	5:234:99
Aid to Charles' messengers to the new pope, Tedaldo	1271	Tedaldo, Gerard of Bassilion, and Peter Hucemagna	To Outremer	7:233:139 7:110:94
Money to Genoese merchants for transporting Charles' messengers	1271	Merchants: John the Chancellor, Pellegrino del Gallo, and Balian Larcaro; Messengers: Gerard of Bassilion and Peter de Blamagne	To Acre	5:250:195
Ships fitted out by Charles should go to meet the pope	January 1272	The pope		5:219-20:22
Money for meeting the new pope on his way to Italy	January 1272	Peter Hucemagna, and the pope		7:244:171
Messengers from the king of Armenia	February 1272	King Leo II of Armenia		8:95:40
Salted meats, cheese, and oil for Hospitaller use	April 1272	Hospitallers	From Bari to Brindisi, and thence to Acre	10:39:134
Merchants can take 20,000 packloads of wheat from Sicily, with none for the Genoese, or Michael Palaeologus; if some is taken to the Hospitallers at Acre, it is to be measured; Charles wants whoever is going to Acre who has two holds in his ship to take three ballistae there from him	April 1272	Hospitallers	To Acre, et al.	10:25:95

Letters of recommendation for merchants	May 1272	King Hugh of Cyprus and Jerusalem	To Cyprus?	8:109-10:104
Concerning pasture and water rights for the Hospitallers	June 1272	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi	Messina	8:138-9:199
Permission for Hospitallers to take 1,000 packloads of wheat and 1,000 packloads of barley	July 1272	Hospitallers	From Apulia to Acre	8:202:564
Permission for Hospitallers to take 100 packloads of pulses, seven horses, and seven mules	August 1272	Hospitallers	From Apulia to Acre	8:202:565
Passage for messengers of Pope Gregory X to Romania	October 1272	Pope Gregory X	To Romania	9:294-5:24
Provision to commemorate the queen consort of Sicily, Beatrice	November 1272	Hospitallers	Aix-en-Provence	10:25:95
Charles has three well-equipped galleys to transport the new patriarch to Acre	1272	Thomas Agni of Lentini, patriarch of Jerusalem	To Acre	5:223:36 8:74:282
Order to requisition a ship to return the king of Armenia's messengers	1272	Archdeacon Varani, and the knight William	From Brindisi to Acre	8:97-8:51
Expenses for the pope returning with Fulk from the Holy Land	1272	Fulk of Podio Riccardi, and the pope	To Brindisi from Acre	8:115:5 8:289-90:15
Permission to take 30 packloads of supplies	1272	Hospitaller Brother Guido	To Achaea	9:30:47
Provision for Jacob against Conrad, concerning Casalis Novi	1272	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi, Conrad of Amicis, a knight	Messina	9:270:326
Gold for Peter, who lives in Acre	1272 or 1273	Peter Deco of Venice	Acre	10:267-8:24
Three galleys and one ship proceeding with Oliver of Termes in aid the Holy Land	January 1273	Oliver of Termes	To Holy Land	9:44:133
2,000 packloads of wheat, not for the lands of Michael Palaeologus	March 1273	Hospitallers	To Acre	9:52-3:183
Charles calls Jacob to hear news from the patriarch of Jerusalem	April 1273	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi, and the patriarch of Jerusalem	Foggia	10:30:108&109&110
Supplies, including ballistae	May 1273	Templars	To Acre	9:215:98

A Hospitaller among the messengers going to Hungary on behalf of Charles and the Hungarian king	June 1273 or 1274	Hospitallers	Hungary	11:120:139
John requests Charles to revoke Julian's requirement to go to the Holy Land to atone for murder	July 1273	John II of Brittany, and Julian of Faneto		10:140-1:552
Charles heard that some of his officials had imposed a penalty on Jacob; Charles wanted it remitted	July 1273	Hospitaller Brother Jacob of Tassi	Lombardy	10:131:528
Supplies to the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights	August 1273	Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights	To Outremer	9:293-4:22
For the business of the Holy Land, Charles orders the vicar to publish that arms and supplies are not allowed to be sent to the Muslims, under penalty	August 1273 or 1274	Vicar of Marseilles	Marseilles	11:315:223
William should not be disturbed in possession of a mill near Florence	1273	Templar Master William of Beaujeu	Florence	9:261:258
William is named as Charles' blood brother; provision made concerning the illicit occupation of Templar lands by some men	1273	Templar Master William of Beaujeu; occupiers of the land: Loysium Beaujeu, lord of Gravine, John of Confluencia, lord of St Nicandri, and Raynald of Culant, lord of Rubi		9:264-5:288
Supplies to Acre of precious stones, lathes, swords, ballistae, linen, frankincense, cassia, sedge, hooks, wine, garlic, saws, and an old veil, with no provisions	1273	Merchants Simon of St Stephen and another 'de Barcholam'	To Acre	10:14:52
Secure conduct for messengers from the Holy Land	January 1274	Hospitaller Brother William of Corceles, James Vidal, Enguerrand of Jorni, and Templar Brother Arnulf		11:136:224

Grain for the Hospitallers, and not for the Genoese, Muslims, or the lands of Michael Palaeologus	June 1274	Hospitallers	To Acre	11:89:1
Help for the Templars to find two escaped Muslim slaves that had been brought from Outremer	August 1274	Templar preceptor of Bari	Lucera	11:55:143
Permission to look for minerals in the kingdom of Sicily	August 1274	Hospitaller Brother Raymond, and John, a goldsmith from Longobucco	Sicily	11:96:36
Licence to look for minerals expires in April 1275, and Charles gets one-third of the find	August 1274	Hospitallers		11:245:216
People sent to superintend minerals in Calabria	November 1274	Hospitaller Brother Raymond, Simon of Lungro, Charles' valet	Calabria	12:170-1:34
Raymond is supposed to take a special interest in the minerals in Calabria	December 1274	Hospitaller Brother Raymond, Simon of Lungro, Charles' valet	Calabria	12:260-1:364
Licence to take wheat to Acre, Tyre, or Tripoli	September 1275	Merchants	To Acre, Tyre, or Tripoli	13:46:25
Permission for merchants to take wheat to Tunis, Acre, or Marseilles, but not to the Genoese or Pisans or other western lands; if supplies are taken to Acre, then it should be to the patriarch or the Templars	December 1275	Templars, and patriarch of Jerusalem	To Acre, et al	13:30-1:137
Permission for merchants to take wheat to Venice, Tunis, Acre, et al, but not to Genoese or Pisans or other western lands, or Michael Palaeologus; if supplies are taken to Acre, then it should be to the patriarch or the Templars	December 1275	Templars, and patriarch of Jerusalem	To Acre, et al	13:91-2:207
Provision for wheat and barley for Acre, but not for Genoa, Pisa, or Michael Palaeologus	December 1275	Merchants	To Acre	13:93:211

Permission for merchants to take wheat and barley to Venice, Tunis, Acre, et al, but not to Genoese or Pisans or other western lands, or Michael Palaeologus; if supplies are taken to Acre, then it should be to the patriarch or the Templars	December 1275	Templars, and patriarch of Jerusalem	To Acre, et al	16:177:11
Licence for the Teutonic Knights to take 12 horses and 12 mules for the defence of Acre	1275 or 1276	Teutonic Knights	To Acre	13:34:157
A merchant from Lucca has asked Charles for permission to exit the kingdom to take supplies to Acre	1268-1281	Baldinotus, merchant of Lucca	To Acre	2:58:209

APPENDIX E

Participants in Gregory's Crusade

**Defacto* participant

**Participant after Gregory's death

FRENCH/SICILIAN

King Philip III of France

Queen Maria of France (sister of the duke of Brabant)

Prince Robert of France, count of Clermont (brother of King Philip)

Prince Peter of France, count of Perche and Alençon (brother of King Philip)

John I, duke of Brabant and Lotharingia, with 50 knights

Erard of Valery, chamberlain of France

Humbert of Beaujeu, constable of France

Gaucher, castellan of Noyon and Thourotte, with ten knights

Simon of Brie, titular cardinal-priest of St-Cecilia (legate for the crusade)

Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily (conditional)

Charles of Salerno, crown-prince of Sicily

**John Britaud, lord of Nangis, constable of Sicily, and panetier of France, with escort

GERMAN

Rudolph of Habsburg, king of the Romans with 500, 1,000 or 2,000 knights

Gertrude of Hohenburg, queen of the Romans

Frederick III, duke of Lorraine

Louis II, duke of Upper Bavaria and count-palatine of the Rhine

Matilda of Habsburg, duchess of Upper Bavaria (daughter of King Rudolph)

BRITISH/IRISH

David MacCerbail, archbishop of Cashel

John II of Brittany, earl of Richmond

IBERIAN

Prince Emmanuel of Castile and Leon with escort

Sancho, archbishop of Toledo

King James I of Aragon, with 1,000 knights and ten ships

*Nuño González of Lara

*King Alfonso X of Castile and Leon

**King Alfonso III of Portugal

OTHER

Pope Gregory X (conditional)

Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (conditional)

King Magnus III of Sweden (perhaps after Gregory's death)

**Guy, count of Flanders, with escort

Jacob of Guitto (as punishment)
Julian of Faneto (as punishment)

Possible Participants in Gregory's Crusade

King Edward I of England
Prince Edmund of England
King Ottokar II of Bohemia

Participants in Gregory's Interim Crusade

John of Grailly, seneschal of Jerusalem
Three galleys from Charles of Anjou, with 30 suitable men
Thomas Agni of Lentini, patriarch of Jerusalem, with 500 footmen and horsemen
Oliver of Termes, captain of the pilgrims, with 25 horsemen and 100 crossbowmen
Gilles of Santi, with 400 crossbowmen
Peter of Amiens, with 300 crossbowmen
William of Roussillon, with 40 knights, 60 mounted sergeants, and 400 crossbowmen

APPENDIX F

Research Notes on Tedaldo Visconti's Early Life

1. The Origins of Tedaldo Visconti:

There was a prominent family by the name of Visconti in Milan, but there is no doubt that Tedaldo Visconti belonged to the branch from Piacenza. On this point, Christine Renardy has not given Gatto a very close reading, though she cited his work for proof. Renardy wrote that Tedaldo 'belonged to the celebrated Ghibelline family who ruled Milan and Lombardy.'¹ Gatto made it clear that the Visconti branch to which Tedaldo belonged was 'not bound by ties of kinship to the older family of the Visconti of Milan.'² Gatto drew upon Campi, a Piacentine historian who addressed the issue of the Milanese and Piacentine Visconti.³ Renardy's statement on the Visconti family's Ghibelline adherence is also problematic. There is no evidence that Tedaldo's family, unconnected to the Milanese Visconti, had Ghibelline allegiance. The fact that Tedaldo joined the entourage of James of Palestrina, who was trying to suppress the Ghibelline faction in Piacenza, likely points to his Guelf allegiance.

2. Tedaldo's Connection to San Antonino in Piacenza

A 1236 letter concerning the election of the bishop of Piacenza mentioned a 'Thetaldo' who was a presbyter in San Antonino, and a 1237 letter concerning James of Palestrina's efforts in Piacenza mentioned an archpresbyter named 'Thedaldus,' also of San Antonino.⁴ As Gatto has indicated, however, there has been some dispute over the identity of

¹ Renardy, *Maitres*, p. 448.

² Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 29-30.

³ Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 241.

⁴ Reproduced in Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 392 & 394.

this ‘Thetaldo.’⁵ Given that this was at the same time, and in the same place that Tedaldo entered into the entourage of James, it is likely, though not certain, that this was Tedaldo Visconti and not another man with the same name.⁶ It is speculation, but the fact that the anonymous biographer did not mention Tedaldo’s position of canon in Lyons may give support to the idea that Tedaldo held the position of canon in Piacenza: the anonymous biographer simply did not see either of the positions as important, so ignored both of them.

3. *The Confusion Over Tedaldo’s Position in Liège*

To be clear, this thesis has argued that Tedaldo became an archdeacon of Liège on 19 November 1246, and he was never a canon of Liège (only of Lyons). The uncertainty over Tedaldo’s position in Liège stems from the fact that Tedaldo Visconti’s predecessor as archdeacon of Hainaut in Liège shared his name. This ‘Thierry,’ to add to the confusion, was himself a canon of St Lambert in Liège, and was given his archdeaconate in 1239 – the same time that Tedaldo was made a canon of Lyons.⁷ The simple fact is that there could not be two archdeacons of Hainaut. The position was already filled when Tedaldo was alleged to have received it. Thierry died in 1246, paving the way for Tedaldo Visconti to take on the archdeaconate of Liège. At the same time that Tedaldo Visconti was an archdeacon of Liège, there was yet another with the same name: ‘Thibaut’ was a canon of St Denis in Liège as early as 1245, and he died in 1267.⁸ It is perhaps this Thibaut who created the confusion over Tedaldo Visconti having a position of canon in Liège.

⁵ The argument against this Tedaldo being the same as the man who became Gregory X centred on Tedaldo Visconti not mentioning being canon of San Antonino when he reflected (as pope) on being a canon of Lyons and archdeacon of Liège. As Gatto asserted, however, this is a weak argument *e silentio*, and does not hold up to the repeated evidence of ‘Tedaldo’ appearing in records from San Antonino, as collected in the work of Gaetano Tognoni on Pope Gregory X and Piacenza. Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 32, n. 1.

⁶ Simon Ditchfield took it as a matter of course that Tedaldo had been a canon in San Antonino in his work on Pietro Maria Campi. Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 138 & 221.

⁷ *Analectes pour servir a l’histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, ed. Edmund Reusens & Victor Barbier (Leuven, 1895), vol. 6, p. 189-90; vol. 25, p. 470-1.

⁸ Renardy, *Maîtres*, p. 447.

The anonymous biographer of Gregory X never mentioned that Tedaldo held the position of canon of Liège (but nor of Lyons, for that matter). When he became pope, as aforementioned, Tedaldo reflected on his time as canon of Lyons, but not of Liège. The notion that Tedaldo was also a canon at Liège surfaced in John of Hocsem. Hocsem was born shortly after the death of Pope Gregory X (1276), and was himself a canon of Liège in 1315, as well as master of the cathedral school, and later the secretary for the chapter. He died in 1348. He wrote that Gregory X had been ‘canon and archdeacon of Liège.’⁹ He did not, however, mention Gregory’s canonry in Lyons, which may have been, instead, attributed to Liège. Likewise, the 1402 chronicle of Liège cited Tedaldo as canon and archdeacon of Liège, but made no mention of a canonry of Lyons.¹⁰ The alleged canonry of Liège also appeared in Oldoini’s additions to Ciacconio, where, speaking of Liège, the author wrote that Tedaldo was a canon there, and archdeacon of Hainaut. In this case, Oldoini had also mentioned Tedaldo’s previous canonry in Lyons.¹¹ Renardy also asserted that Tedaldo had been a canon of Liège, having received the position in 1239, and his archdeaconate in 1246, but this error can be attributed more to an inaccurate reading of Gatto than to a close reading of the sources.¹²

Gatto’s work on Tedaldo’s canonry and archdeaconate must be re-examined, since he too seems to have erred. He wrongly asserted that Tedaldo gained the archdeaconate through the manoeuvrings of James of Palestrina, who in fact had already died.¹³ Gatto cannot take all the blame, however, since the confusion had already arisen in the sources that he used. Campi’s history of Piacenza, from which Gatto drew for Tedaldo’s life, stated that not long after Tedaldo was made canon of Lyons, he was made archdeacon of Liège. He wrongly

⁹ ‘*Canonicus et archidiaconus Leodiensis.*’ Hocsem, *Chronique*, p. 31.

¹⁰ *La chronique liégeoise de 1402*, ed. Eugène Bacha (Brussels, 1900), p. 212-213.

¹¹ Ciacconio, *Vitae*, p. 185.

¹² Renardy, *Maîtres*, p. 450, n. 1.

¹³ Gatto, *Pontificato*, p. 35.

dated both events in 1240.¹⁴ The anonymous biographer also wrongly placed the bestowal of the archdeaconate on Tedaldo before the First Council of Lyons, and even before the death of James of Palestrina.¹⁵

Historians who have confused this issue can be forgiven, because to complicate matters still more, James had been involved in the election of the bishop of Liège when he was the papal legate in France and Germany. This also took place around 1239. Gaetano Tononi, upon whom Gatto drew for his history of Tedaldo, is one of the likely sources for Gatto's errors. In his history of James of Palestrina, Tononi wrongly wrote that Tedaldo, already canon of Lyons, became archdeacon of Liège in 1239 – in the midst of the 1240 election of a new bishop of Liège, whose previous bishop had died in 1239.¹⁶ With so many coincidental connections linking James, Tedaldo, and the city of Liège, it is little wonder that errors have arisen.

¹⁴ Campi, *Dell'Historia*, vol. 2, p. 169.

¹⁵ *Vita Gregorii*, p. 343.

¹⁶ Tononi, *Storia del Cardinale Giacomo Pecoraria*, p. 202-4. James, as the papal legate in the region, along with the cathedral chapter of St Lambert in Liège, wrote to Pope Gregory IX in 1240 asking for the instalment of Robert of Thourotte, then bishop of Langres, as bishop of Liège. *Regestes de Robert de Thourotte*, vol. 15, p. 15.